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CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

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ST. CHRYSOSTOM AND THE GREEK PHILOSOPHERS

By P. R. COLEMAN-NORTON

ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM (ca. 347-407) studied under Libanius, the celebrated sophist of Antioch, in whose school he became conversant with the best classical Greek authors, both poets and philosophers. Of their sentiments he retained little admiration when he entered the Christian life and to their writings he probably seldom recurred for recreation, but his retentive memory enabled him to point and adorn his arguments with illustrations and quotations from them.

One need not read far in the works of this most voluminous writer of the Greek Christian Fathers to discover the low opinion which he has of Greek philosophy. In one place St. Chrysostom calls it *τριωβολιμαῖος* (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, LXII, 153).¹ He often derides the external trappings of the professional philosophers, which include long hair and beards, sleeveless vests, coarse cloaks, robes, staves, and clubs (XLVIII, 537; XLIX, 173, 189; LI, 152-53, 274; LIII, 173; LIX, 370; LX, 91, 407; LXII, 153, 694). The transitory influence of Greek philosophy appears, according to St. Chrysostom, in the attempts made by Pythagoras, Socrates, Diagoras, Plato, Zeno, and countless others to introduce new opinions and foreign ways of living among the Greeks, which efforts ended in failure so that many in his day do not know even their names (XLVIII, 886; cf. XLIX, 189; LVII, 188; LX, 407; LXI, 43).

St. Chrysostom attacks the philosophers for trying to subvert Christian doctrine, allowing that they are in high regard among many

¹ Succeeding references to St. Chrysostom's works edited by Migne will be given, for the sake of brevity, merely by the number of the volume and the column.

for the probity of their life and the power of their teaching, but declaring that they become ridiculous and appear like silly children when their ideas are compared with those of Christian theologians (L, 536). So dizzy do they grow from their long and reiterated disputations that they fail to see the very stones in their path and they stumble over them, as well as collide with one another, and roll into the deepest depths of impiety for no other reason than that they refer everything to their own ratiocinations (LII, 274), syllogisms, and sophisms (LX, 414). St. Chrysostom charges philosophers with obscurity when he asserts that if they (those philosophers who seek not what conduces to the common good but only what may win admiration for themselves) produce any useful contribution, they hide it by their usual darkness, as it were, in a kind of gloom (XLVIII, 994; cf. LVII, 19).

True philosophy, St. Chrysostom holds, is not found among the Greeks, who by establishing various times maintain that time was when God was not, who say that some gods are older and others younger (LIX, 34), who worship animals as gods (LX, 414), and who allow no place to Providence (XLIX, 189; LX, 375). He calls attention to the foolishness of philosophers who through lack of faith declare that nothing is created from nothing, that God has no beginning and is unbegotten (LXIII, 154-55), that God did not create the world, that virtue is not self-sufficient (XLIX, 189; cf. LIX, 369), and that souls pass into animals upon human death (LIII, 106; LIX, 31-33; LX, 32, 48; LXII, 91-92, 436).

These are some of the strictures which St. Chrysostom passes upon the Greek philosophers in general. Let us now see with what judgment he surveys individuals.

Anacharsis is commended for putting ethics above eloquence (XLVII, 367). According to Diogenes Laertius (*De vitis philosophorum* i. 13, 41-42), some reckon Anacharsis among the Seven Sages.

He mentions Anaxagoras under the style of *ὁ Κλαζομένιος* in a list of celebrated philosophers (L, 495).

St. Chrysostom says that Anaxarchus was killed in an unusual way, because no one wished to listen to his doctrine (LV, 669). Of his philosophy we know only that he belonged to the school of Democritus. While various ancient writers describe his death (he was put into a mortar and pounded with iron pestles), none gives the reason

offered by St. Chrysostom. Diogenes Laertius has the fullest account of Anaxarchus (*op. cit.* ix. 58-60).

He refers to a Greek philosopher who believed that God is air (LIX, 370). Justin Martyr tells this of Anaximenes (*Cohortatio ad Gentiles* 4D).

Apollonius of Tyana is joined to those who tried to introduce new ideas and foreign ways of living, and St. Chrysostom says that all his acts were deceitful, vain, and false, which brought his work quickly to an end (XLVIII, 886). To him Apollonius appears a deceiver and a cheat, shining for a short space in a small part of the world and soon extinguished (L, 490).

St. Chrysostom chides Aristippus for his immorality (LVII, 392), about which Diogenes Laertius also tells us (*op. cit.* ii. 67, 69, 74-75, 81).¹ He relates the story of the philosopher who found the furnishings of his host's house so splendid that when compelled to expectorate he spat in his host's face (LX, 494). This incivility is attributed to Aristippus by Diogenes Laertius, who, however, adds that some tell it about Diogenes the Cynic (*op. cit.* ii. 75, vi. 32).

St. Chrysostom speaks of heretics who quote Aristotle (LII, 824) and asks St. Paul to inquire of them why they have been taught Aristotle's doctrines (LXIII, 547). In another place (LXIII, 548) he says that Aristotle's teachings have been held by impious persons. Reference is made to the assault of Aristotle upon the philosophy of Plato (LX, 414), and St. Chrysostom declares that in turn the Peripatetics have rotted away (LX, 47). There does not seem to be any other authority for the assertion which St. Chrysostom makes when he asks (L, 546): *ποῦ γὰρ, εἰπέ μοι, χρήσιμον γονῆς ἀπογενέσθαι ἀνθρωπίνης, ὅπερ ὁ Σταγειρίτης ἐποίει;*

St. Chrysostom says that Crates placed the study of moral philosophy above proficiency in oratory (XLVII, 367). There were at least four philosophers of this name (Diogenes Laertius *op. cit.* iv. 23), and it is impossible to say which one is meant. But because he is mentioned here with Diogenes, it is probable that Crates of Thebes is understood, for he was a disciple of Diogenes and became one of the

¹ Only in certain cases are corroborating or explanatory references given, as here. When no citation of authors is made, it should be understood that what St. Chrysostom says is supported by classical writers.

most distinguished of the Cynic philosophers (*ibid.* vi 85-93; cf. ii. 117-18). St. Chrysostom tells us that Crates in his contempt of money gave up his fields to sheep pasture (XLVIII, 607, LXI, 301; cf. LX, 64), which is reported of Crates the Theban by Diogenes Laertius (*op. cit.* vi. 87). He also speaks of a philosopher who threw all his money into the sea (LX, 64; LXI, 301). This is related of Crates by Diogenes Laertius (*op. cit.* vi. 87).

St. Chrysostom calls the contemporary philosophers of Antioch *τα κυνικά καθάρματα* (XLIX, 173), and says that the Cynic offscourings (cf. XLIX, 173) have perished as a dream and a shadow (LVII, 392). The Cynics welcomed their name, he says, because of the well-disposed character of dogs, and they were not ashamed of it because they had regard for the kindness of canine nature (LIX, 654).

Democritus lived at Ephesus, according to St. Chrysostom (LXII, 9), but no evidence exists about his residence there.

St. Chrysostom mentions Diagoras as an introducer of new opinions and alien ways of living (XLVIII, 886), and calls him a famous philosopher (L, 495). He joins Diagoras, Protagoras, and Theodorus as atheists in this statement: *Καὶ γὰρ Πρωταγόρας παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐπειδὴ ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι οὐκ Οἶδα θεοὺς, οὐ τὴν οἰκουμένην περιῶν καὶ κηρύττων, ἀλλ' ἐν μιᾷ πόλει, περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἐκινδύνευσε. Καὶ Διαγόρας ὁ Μιλήσιος, καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ λεγόμενος Ἄθεος, καίτοι φίλους εἶχον καὶ δύναμιν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων, καὶ ἐπὶ φιλοσοφία ἐθαυμάζοντο, ἀλλ' ὁμως οὐδὲν τούτων αὐτοὺς ὥνησε* (LXI, 36-37). But Diagoras was rather a Melian, as Diogenes Laertius witnesses (*op. cit.* vi. 59). And Cicero joins these three atheists twice (*De natura deorum* i. 2, 63), in the first *locus* calling Diagoras a *Melius* and in the second *ἄθεος*.

St. Chrysostom praises Diogenes the Cynic for his contempt of wealth (XLVIII, 607) and says that he refused to accept money from Alexander the Great (XLVII, 337). The latter statement does not appear in the tradition, which is that Alexander wished Diogenes to ask any boon of him and that Diogenes refused (Plutarch *Alexander* 671; Diogenes Laertius *op. cit.* vi. 38). St. Chrysostom gives this version also (XLVII, 339) and later repeats it in enlarged form closer to the account of Plutarch than to that of Laertius (L, 545).

St. Chrysostom says that Diogenes cared more for a man's character than for his literary attainments (XLVII, 367) and commends

him for his continence (L, 546), but censures him for his open indecency (LVII, 188, 392; LXI, 302), of which Laertius has some curious accounts (*op. cit.* vi. 26, 32, 37, 46, 58, 69). Three references occur to the tub which Diogenes inhabited (L, 545; LVII, 188; LXI, 392).

An epigram on Epictetus is quoted by St. Chrysostom in this fashion (LX, 111): Δούλος μὲν Ἐπίκτητος, σῶμα ἀνάπηρος· πενίην Ἴρος, καὶ φίλος ἀθανάτων. In the *Anthologia Palatina* vii. 676 it is given thus:

Δούλος Ἐπίκτητος γενόμεν καὶ σῶμ' ἀνάπηρος
καὶ πενίην Ἴρος καὶ φίλος ἀθανάτοις.

In commenting on the speech of St. Paul at Athens (Acts 17:16-34) St. Chrysostom proclaims the superiority of St. Paul's teaching that God gives to all life and breath and all things and has made of one blood every nation of men to dwell on all the face of the earth (Acts 17:25-26), and says that this doctrine confutes the atoms and matter of the system of Epicurus (LX, 270-71). There is also a passing reference (XLVIII, 670) to St. Paul's debate with the Epicureans (Acts 17:18). St. Chrysostom terms the Epicurean doctrine an atheistic error and a heresy which denies the place of Providence in life (LIX, 694).

St. Chrysostom ascribes to Epimenides (LXII, 676-77), whom some place among the Seven Sages (Diogenes Laertius *op. cit.* i. 13, 41-42), verses which belong to Callimachus in his *Hymnus in Jovem* 8-9. According to St. Chrysostom, Epimenides in remarking about the (Pythagorean) inscription on the tomb of Zeus in Crete wrote

Καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὃ ἄνα σείο
Κρήτες ἐτεκτῆναντο· σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες· ἔσσι γὰρ αἰεὶ.

But these are the *ipsissima verba* of Callimachus. Either Callimachus borrowed from Epimenides or St. Chrysostom is at fault.

The famous oxymoron of Gorgias, ἐμψυχοὶ τάφοι, which he applied to vultures, St. Chrysostom uses several times. He tells his hearers that every one of them is a τάφος ἐμψυχος καὶ πνευματικός of the martyr whose praise he is celebrating, for he can find the saint abiding in their souls (L, 600). Continuing, St. Chrysostom holds that the enemy has profited nothing but has rather increased the fame of the saint by making so many living graves (τάφους ἐμψύχους) instead of one (*ibid.*). St.

Paul and his disciples, who were daily in danger of death, are called *ἐμψυχοὶ νεκροί* (L, 421; cf. XLIX, 22).

Mention is made of a Greek philosopher who held that God is fire (LIX, 370). This theory is ascribed to Heraclitus by Justin Martyr (*op. cit.* 4E).

Parmenides lived at Ephesus according to St. Chrysostom (LXII, 9), but there does not seem to be any support for this assertion.

Without naming him St. Chrysostom says that one of the Seven Sages was a Corinthian (LXI, 10). Tradition gives Periander of Corinth a place in their company (Diogenes Laertius *op. cit.* i. 13, 41–42).

St. Chrysostom considers that Plato is more famous than Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily (XLVII, 339), to visit whom Plato sailed to Sicily (LIX, 31–32; LV, 407). He refers to the story that Plato was sold into slavery by the order of Dionysius (XLVII, 339; LVII, 392; LX, 407; LXI, 36). Plato is pictured in the garden of the academy watering, planting, and eating olives, providing a frugal table, and free from all vain display (XLVII, 339). But Plato did not condemn wealth, for he had great riches and gold rings and dishes (LX, 260–61). St. Chrysostom puts Plato among those who tried to introduce new ideas and foreign ways of living (XLVIII, 886; cf. LXI, 36). Plato is censured for *παιδεραστία* (L, 546).

St. Chrysostom asks where now is Plato, implying that his influence has waned, and says that his end was miserable (LVII, 392; cf. LXIV, 26). Plato's teachings have been lost in silence (LIX, 31; LXIV, 26) and are now extinct (LXIII, 501). Many have not even heard of Plato's name (LIX, 31). The Academics, St. Chrysostom says, have rotted away, and Plato, who wrote so much foolishness, has become silent (LX, 47). The attacks on Plato by Aristotle and by the Stoics are mentioned (LX, 414).

St. Chrysostom speaks of *τὸ Πλάτωνος ὕψος* (XLVIII, 669) and sarcastically remarks that Plato gave so much attention to the style of his writings when Socrates was content to speak plainly and extemporaneously to his judges (LIX, 33).¹ Plato is full of irony and jealously arrays himself against all comers (LX, 48). Plato's *Epistles* are mentioned (LVII, 392).

¹ Some editors mark as a gloss the comment in the text that nothing in Plato except this desire of Socrates to speak simply is worthy of admiration.

St. Chrysostom declares that the apostles by reliance on faith overcame Plato whose support was reason (LIX, 352), and that Plato could not produce any teachings comparable with those of the founders of the church (LXI, 66). St. Peter's soul was more adapted for philosophy than that of Plato, through whom Christ did not work for that reason (LX, 47), and St. Peter's philosophy proved superior to Plato's (LX, 48). He speaks of heretics who quote Plato (LII, 823) and bids St. Paul ask them who prefers Plato to the gospels (LXIII, 547). He also asserts the superiority of St. Paul over Plato (LXI, 27; LXII, 673; LXIV, 25) and says that St. Paul would have inveighed against his hearers, if they should have confronted him with the teachings of Plato (LXI, 67), for Plato's philosophizing about God is silly when compared with St. Paul's teaching about God (LX, 270).

There is a great difference between the Holy Spirit and Plato, says St. Chrysostom in his comment on I Cor. 2:13 (LXI, 59), for Christ has implanted in us his mind and not that of Plato who was deceived (LXI, 62-63). St. Chrysostom closes an argument by stating *Ὁὕτως ἀνείητος ὁ Θεὸς πανταχοῦ* (LVI, 214). This appears to be a reminiscence of Plato (*Republica* 617E; cf. *op. cit.* 379BC). He quotes from Plato (*Timaeus* 29E) the thought that God is good and that the good can never have any jealousy of anything (XLVIII, 538). Reference is also made to Plato's scheme of regulating what the poets write about God (LX, 414). St. Chrysostom calls upon a philosopher for confirmation of his statement that the Greek poets invented names for the gods (LV, 56). Plato has a long discussion on the etymology of the names applied to the gods (*Cratylus* 396A-C, 397CD, 400D-408D), which perhaps he means (cf. LXI, 36). Plato is allowed to be the greatest of the Greek philosophers but is accused of glorying in idolatry (LX, 414). He chooses Plato as an example of the force of custom, when he declares that, though Plato knew that the teaching about the gods was erroneous, he nevertheless participated in religious festivals (LXI, 63-64).

St. Chrysostom says that Plato calls now the mind, now the soul, the beginning of all things, but that these are far from divine and immortal nature (LIX, 34). He declares that Plato spent much time in trying to prove the immortality of the soul, but did not make his teaching clear (LXI, 34) and ended by throwing the soul on to a heap

of rubbish (LX, 48). In fact, Plato's whole life was expended on vain and useless teachings, such as metempsychosis (LIX, 31-33; LX, 48), and the time he consumed with mathematical and geometrical studies produced little result (LXI, 34).

A reminiscence of Plato's celebrated image of the charioteer and the horses (*Phaedrus* 246A-248E) occurs when St. Chrysostom, in speaking of David's sin, compares the body with a chariot and the soul with the charioteer, and says that, when the soul is intoxicated by passion, the chariot is dragged along at random (XLIX, 286). Again he has recourse to this illustration when he rebukes the faithful for attending the chariot-races on Good Friday instead of coming to church (LVI, 265).

St. Chrysostom calls Plato's ideal state (LXI, 36) ridiculous (LVII, 18) and its laws shameful (LX, 48). He condemns Plato's advocacy of community of wives (LVII, 19; LIX, 30-31; LX, 48; LXII, 694), of bringing naked maidens into the *palaestra* in the sight of men (LVII, 19; LX, 48; LXII, 694), of clandestine nuptials (LVII, 19), of community of parents and children (LX, 48), of women learning martial exercises (LVII, 87; LX, 48) and fighting in war (LXII, 694).

St. Chrysostom says that according to Plato the human race does not differ from dogs, and then to support this statement he cites as Plato's words 'Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ κύων ἡ θήλεια, φησί, καὶ ὁ ἄρρην κοινωνοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις, κοινωνεῖτωσαν καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες, καὶ πάντα ἀνατρεπέσθω (LX, 48). It is true that Plato speaks of man as an animal, but nowhere does he make explicitly so strong and direct an assertion that man is no different from a dog, though he employs similes about dogs when he discusses human relations (cf. *Respublica* 459, which perhaps St. Chrysostom had in mind, and *Euthydemus* 298DE, where some humorous remarks occur). The Greek is not a true quotation (though St. Chrysostom gives it as such), but the thought and some of the phrases expressed are based on several passages concerning the community of women (*Respublica* 451D, 453A, 466CD). Later (*loc. cit.*) St. Chrysostom gives Plato as his authority for dogs experiencing jealousy. This does not appear (*sed cf. Respublica* 375E-376B).

Plato is accused of permitting cannibalism (L, 546), for which no ancient evidence appears. But Plato speaks of human sacrifices without explicit condemnation (*Respublica* 565D-566A; *Leges* 782C), and

to this St. Chrysostom may refer. On the other hand, Plato advocates the practice of taking children to see battles and, if there should be no danger, of bringing them up close and of having a taste of blood given them, like young hounds (*Respublica* 537A)—but it is hard to believe that he means this literally.

Finally, St. Chrysostom quotes without acknowledgment from Plato (*Timaeus* 22B) the words of the Egyptian priest to Solon that the Greeks are always children and that there is not an old man among them (L, 564; LXII, 92).

What St. Chrysostom says about Protagoras has been given above in connection with Diagoras.

St. Chrysostom witnesses to the Samian origin of Pythagoras (LXII, 9) and counts him among those Greeks who tried to introduce new beliefs and foreign ways of living (XLVIII, 886). He asks where Pythagoras is now, implying that his doctrines are of little influence (LVII, 392). Again he says that the teachings of Pythagoras are lost in silence (LIX, 31) and are extinct (LXIII, 501).

St. Chrysostom quotes an inscription on the tomb of Zeus in Crete, as follows (LXII, 676): 'Ἐνταῦθα Ζᾶν κείται, ὃν Δία κυκλήσκουσι. This is ascribed to Pythagoras in the *Anthologia Palatina* vii. 746, where is read Ὡδε μέγας κείται Ζᾶν, ὃν Δία κυκλήσκουσιν.

According to St. Chrysostom, the apostles by relying on faith overcame Pythagoras whose support was reason (LIX, 352). In asking why Christ did not work through Pythagoras he answers that the soul of St. Peter was more fit for philosophy than the soul of Pythagoras (LX, 47). He also asserts the superiority of St. Paul over Pythagoras (LXIV, 25), and says that St. Paul would have censured his auditors if they should have confronted him with the teachings of Pythagoras (LXI, 67). He holds that Christ has implanted in us his mind and not that of Pythagoras, who was deceived (LXI, 62-63).

St. Chrysostom attacks Pythagoras for maintaining that the souls of men pass into flies, gnats, bushes, maidens, fishes, and dogs (LIX, 30-32, 370). To him Pythagoras appears a wizard and a magician (LXII, 507), who conversed by his art with cattle and eagles (LIX, 32). Reference is made to the *dictum*, *αὐτὸς ἔφη*, which was often found in the mouths of his disciples (LXII, 507), whom he taught to sit on stones (LIX, 32). St. Chrysostom speaks of the Pythagorean prohibi-

tion of bean-eating, the esoteric nature of his doctrine, his theory of number, and the silence imposed for five years on his disciples (LIX, 32). This silence is again mentioned (LXII, 507).

He has Pythagoras in mind when he writes of a philosopher who walked over his disciples as on a bridge (LVII, 392), for this is recorded of Pythagoras by Porphyry who describes the escape of Pythagoras in this way from a burning house (*Vita Pythagorae* 57), at the time of the cruel death of his disciples (LV, 669).

St. Chrysostom tells the story of a philosopher who heard that a certain person had died and who asked one of his disciples who was complaining that his death was unjust why he should have wished that his death had been just (LX, 119-20). This anecdote is told in altered form about Socrates by Xenophon (*Apologia* 28) and Diogenes Laertius (*op. cit.* ii. 35). He uses the poisoning of Socrates as a date (L, 495) and maintains that the manner of his death was not so wonderful because he was condemned to die by drinking the hemlock as was the death of the martyrs who voluntarily sought release by their testimony (LXI, 35). According to St. Chrysostom, Socrates was condemned because the people did not wish to listen to his teaching (LV, 669) and because he was suspected of making a slight innovation in the beliefs about the gods (LXI, 37, 64). The fact that Socrates was chained in prison is mentioned by St. Chrysostom (LXII, 370), who infers that Socrates was an idolater because he ordered a cock to be sacrificed to Asclepius (LX, 414). St. Chrysostom quotes with approval (XLVII, 336-37) from Plato the words of Crito to Socrates, when the former urges the latter to accept financial aid from his friends and to flee from prison (*Crito* 45BC). Many minor variants occur in the quotation.

St. Chrysostom calls Socrates as a witness to the evil which eloquence joined with bad character can produce. He says that Socrates surpassed by far everyone in eloquence and had a deeper knowledge of the fine points of this art than anyone else. He then quotes (XLVII, 367-68) from Plato the words of Socrates in his trial when he tells his judges that they will hear the whole truth and not an elaborate speech adorned with words and phrases which would not befit his time of life (*Apologia* 17BC). St. Chrysostom paraphrases a part of this quotation and cites some of the words again (LIX, 32-33).

The opinion of Socrates about soothsayers as given by Plato (*Meno* 99C and *Apologia* 22C) appeals so much to St. Chrysostom that he quotes it twice (LV, 184; LXI, 241).

St. Chrysostom declares that Socrates taught that one ought not to despise popular opinion and that he illustrated this teaching by his life (LX, 261). Here he does Socrates an injustice. It is true that Socrates says that the opinion of the many may be of use (Plato *Protagoras* 353AB) and that there may be something in the statement that the orator need concern himself only with the opinion of the many (Plato *Phaedrus* 260A), but in no uncertain words he condemns the opinion of the many and holds it of little value (Plato *Laches* 184D-185A; *Crito* 44C, 47A-48A).

St. Chrysostom gives the opinion of a philosopher who saw one of his companions kiss a boy (XLVII, 497). Xenophon reports the incident (*Memorabilia* i. 3. 8-13) and names Socrates as the philosopher, whose opinion in part is paraphrased by St. Chrysostom, who in another place condemns Socrates for his *παιδεραστία* (L, 546).

Mention is made of a philosopher whose wife was shrewish, chattering, and sottish. When asked why he endured her ill treatment of him, the philosopher replied that he had at home a kind of *gymnasium* and *palaestra* of philosophy in which he trained daily so that he became more meek to others (LXI, 224; repeated almost word for word in LXIII, 659). Diogenes Laertius tells this anecdote with variations on Socrates and gives Alcibiades as his questioner (*op. cit.* ii. 36-37), but Aulus Gellius (*Noctes Atticae* i. 17. 1-3) preserves the version closest to that of St. Chrysostom (cf. Xenophon *Symposium* 2. 10).

St. Chrysostom compares Socrates with Archelaus, who was king of Macedon from 413 to 399, and finds that Socrates was more illustrious. He speaks of Socrates having only one garment which he used the year round, of his going ever unshod, of his abstinence from food, of his dependence on others for the necessities of life, of his extreme poverty, and of his refusal to go to the court of Archelaus when invited (XLVII, 339). Socrates' contempt for riches is also noticed (XLVIII, 607).

The military services of Socrates are mentioned by St. Chrysostom, who characterizes Socrates as in great renown at Athens on account of his love of a quiet life and because of his love of wisdom (LVI, 33).

In another place (LXI, 37) he says that Socrates surpassed all in philosophy, and he lists him among those who attempted to introduce new opinions and foreign ways of living (XLVIII, 886). St. Chrysostom says that a tyrant ordered Socrates to abstain from philosophical discourse (XLVII, 331). Xenophon tells us that Critias, one of the thirty tyrants at Athens in 403, drafted a law in which it was declared illegal to teach the art of words and that this clause was inserted to stop Socrates from holding his conversations on philosophical subjects (*Memorabilia* i. 2. 29-38).

St. Chrysostom says that the first of the Greek philosophers maintained that God is water (LIX, 370). This is true of Thales according to Justin Martyr (*op. cit.* 4C, 6E), who also quotes Homer (*Ilias* xiv. 201, 246, 302) on this theory (*op. cit.* 2C, 7A).

What St. Chrysostom tells of Theodorus has been related in the section on Diagoras.

St. Chrysostom refers to a philosopher who was wearing a wreath when the news came to him that his son had fallen in battle. Thereupon he removed the chaplet and inquired which of his two sons had died and, when told, replaced at once the garland (LIX, 347). The best *locus classicus* for this story is that in which Diogenes Laertius tells this incident of Xenophon (*op. cit.* ii. 53-55) and explains the wearing of the crown because Xenophon was engaged in sacrificing. Valerius Maximus has a similar account (*Facta et dicta memorabilia* v. 10. 3 ext. 2), but there is no reason to believe that St. Chrysostom read this anecdote there. It is also reported with variations by Plutarch (*Consolatio ad Apollonium* 118F-119A) and by Aelian (*Varia historia* iii. 3). Interwoven with this tale is that which St. Chrysostom relates of a *princeps paganus* (we have only the Latin version of his treatise *De consolatione mortis* in which this story occurs) who had an only son. While sacrificing on the capitol he received the news of his son's death and interrupted the sacrifice merely to say without a tear or a sigh, "Let him be buried; for I remember that I have begotten a mortal son" (LVI, 304). Such is the simple form in which St. Chrysostom gives his illustration. Its closest support is found in Livy's account of the dedication of the temple of Jupiter on the capitol in 509 by M. Horatius Pulvillus (*Ab urbe condita* ii. 8. 6-8), but Livy confines the words of Horatius to the order for burial. The sentiment of the

princeps paganus that his son had to die some day is ascribed to Anaxagoras the philosopher, when he was told of his son's death, by Cicero (*Tusculanae disputationes* iii. 30, 58), Valerius Maximus (*op. cit.* v. 10. 3 ext. 3), Aelian (*op. cit.* iii. 2), Plutarch (*op. cit.* 118DE), Galen (*De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* iv. 418), and Diogenes Laertius (*op. cit.* ii. 13)—to name only a few sources. Both Plutarch and Laertius make another contribution by attributing the words as well to Lochagus (*Apophthegmata Laconica* 225E) and to Xenophon (*op. cit.* ii. 55), respectively. The Livian version is supported by Valerius Maximus (*op. cit.* v. 10. 1), Cicero (*De domo sua* 139, cf. 121; and *Frag. 15* in Mueller's edition of Cicero's *Fragmenta librorum de philosophia deperditorum*), Seneca (*Ad Marciam de consolatione* 13. 1-2), and Plutarch (*Poplicola* 104).¹

St. Chrysostom includes Zeno among those Greeks who tried to introduce new beliefs and foreign ways of living (XLVIII, 886). According to him (LXII, 9), Zeno lived at Ephesus, but there is no ancient authority for Zeno's residence there. Zeno's treatise on the state is mentioned (L, 495; LVII, 18) and condemned for the advocacy of community of wives therein expressed (L, 546; LVII, 19).

St. Chrysostom puts to his readers a rhetorical question concerning the whereabouts of the Stoics, implying that their influence has passed (LVII, 392). He declares that St. Paul overthrew their teachings about the body and about the final holocaust of the world (LX, 270). He also says that the Stoics attacked Plato's doctrine (LX, 414).

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¹ A situation somewhat similar in accidentals is mentioned by St. Chrysostom where he refers (LVII, 375) to the practice of putting on a crown and wearing a white garment when one's son has died. Plutarch speaks of Pericles doing this (*Consolatio ad Apollonium* 118EF) and so does Valerius Maximus (*op. cit.* v. 10. 3 ext. 1).

ANCIENT TEXTS OF TERENCE

BY LESLIE WEBBER JONES

THERE is hardly an important Latin author whose text is in worse condition today than that of Terence. His very popularity has worked against him; in the Middle Ages manuscripts of his plays were multiplied in such quantity and in such manner as to obscure completely their origin and relationships.¹ In such a maze scholars should not despair, but should rather bend their efforts to collect and examine every bit of evidence. Progress in this direction has been made in the past and still is being made. In the new Oxford text of Terence,² for example, the editors cite the testimony of several new and valuable manuscripts and fragments (π , v , η , ϵ) and make considerable strides in solving the difficulties attendant upon the codices previously known. But the Oxford text leaves much to be desired.

Mr. J. D. Craig has recently tried a new method of approach. In a work entitled *Ancient Editions of Terence*³ he has endeavored to re-examine the Terentian quotations of the commentators or grammarians Arusianus Messius, Nonius Marcellus, and Eugraphius⁴ with the idea of discovering what text or texts they used or might have used. His findings in brief are these:⁵

1. The "standard text" of Terence in the fourth century A.D. was the Codex Bembinus (A).

¹ For a summary account of the tradition of the text of Terence see the work by J. D. Craig cited below, *Ancient Editions of Terence* (Oxford University Press, 1929), pp. 2-9. For a more complete account see the forthcoming work by C. R. Morey and the present author, *The Miniatures of the Manuscripts of Terence prior to the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton University Press, 2 vols.).

² R. Kauer and W. M. Lindsay, *P. Terenti Afri Comoedia* (Oxford University Press, 1926). π , v , η , ϵ , though previously known, appear here for the first time in an edition of Terence.

³ See n. 1 for the date and place of publication.

⁴ "Donatus is not included for the reason that he presents a much more intricate problem" (Craig, *op. cit.*, p. 8).

⁵ See a review of Craig's book by L.-A. Constans in *Revue des études Latines*, II (Avril-Sept., 1929), 245-46.

2. The Calliopian recension (from which Γ and Δ come) is later than the grammarians of the fifth century (Arusianus Messius, Nonius Marcellus, and Eugraphius), for two of these grammarians (Arusianus and Nonius) use A and not the Calliopian, and one (Eugraphius) appears to use the Calliopian occasionally but actually does not.¹ The Calliopian recension is to be dated toward the end of the fifth century, while the division between Γ and Δ occurs in the following century.
3. Whatever traces of the Δ tradition there may appear to be in the commentary of Donatus (fourth century) as it has come down to us are due to the fact that the original form of the commentary has been modified.
4. A is superior in authority to the Calliopian edition.

If these conclusions are correct, a considerable advance has been made in establishing the text. They must not be accepted, however, until they have been subjected to a careful scrutiny. Such a scrutiny it is the purpose of the present writer to make in this article. Whether the conclusions be found correct or not, Craig's work will still possess value. In general, it is sound and accurate in the presentation of material. If it sometimes gives evidence of bias, it is because the author has naturally enough tended to interpret doubtful points in his own favor. There can be no doubt of its sincerity.

It will be convenient before proceeding further to set down here the various symbols used by Craig:²

δ = the minuscule MSS of Terence DGLpVa

γ = the minuscule MSS of Terence Λ CPEFv $\pi\eta\epsilon$

Σ = all the foregoing MSS together

A = Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae

ω = A and Σ together

Φ = the common parent of A and S

Δ = the archetype of δ , or the edition of which the δ MSS are representatives

Γ = the archetype of γ , etc.

S = the "Calliopian" edition, which is represented for the most part by Σ , but may be represented by MSS of the γ or the δ family (where these differ).

In the testimony which follows Craig's order of presentation will be kept so far as is possible. Each of the three grammarians discussed by him (Arusianus Messius, Nonius Marcellus, and Eugraphius) will be considered in turn.

¹ That is, his apparent use of the Calliopian is in each case the result of accident.

² The first five symbols are taken from the Oxford *Terence* of Kauer and Lindsay; the sixth from Günther Jachmann's *Die Geschichte des Terenztextes im Altertum* (Basel, 1924).

I. ARUSIAN

Date.—Since Arusian dedicated his book *Exempla elocutionum* to Olybrius and Probinus, two brothers who are known to have held the consulship together in the year 395 A.D.,¹ he must have flourished toward the end of the fourth century.

EVIDENCE OF THE TERENCEAN QUOTATIONS²

1. Arusian agrees with A alone against Σ: 5 good cases³ (pp. 20–23).⁴
2. Arusian agrees with A and δ MSS against γ (as a whole): 4 good cases (pp. 25–26).
3. Arusian agrees with A and γ MSS against δ (as a whole): 3 good cases and 1 weak case (pp. 26–28). The weak case follows:

Hec. 139 (iamb. senar.)

(cum virgine una adulescens cubuerit)
plus potu', sese illa abstinere ut poterit?

po. is se il. *Jov.*; po. se. il. *C¹P¹D²p¹*, *schol. E*, *F²*; po. sed il. *L*;
potuisse il. *D¹* (cf. *Don. ad Ad.* 470); potis se il. *E¹F¹v*;
po. sese il. *etiam Arusian (?)* 457.

Craig would hold that, since Arusian in his actual text has *plus potuisse*, he has made a scribe's mistake for *potus is se*, which was the correct reading in the fourth century. A would then appear to have made an independent error and the Calliopian text to have preserved the correct reading (since the variants are all to be considered late). Craig concludes, therefore, that Arusian used the text of which A was a representative. But he may just as well have used the Calliopian text, which preserved the correct reading.

4. Arusian agrees with ASTΔ: 8 (or 10) good cases (pp. 29–32).

So far all is clear sailing. But skies become darker as we proceed.

¹ Craig (*op. cit.*, p. 14) refers us to the evidence in Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, VII, 439–48.

² In this evidence two points described by Craig are omitted as not being germane to the present discussion: first, the fact that in seven instances our text of Arusian stands alone, opposed to ω (A and Σ) (Craig, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–46); and, second, the fact that ω can be confirmed by several citations, a fact which Craig (*ibid.*, p. 23) says is "not strictly apposite to the present enquiry."

³ I shall discuss in each instance only the cases in which I disagree with Craig and merely enumerate the rest.

⁴ In this place I shall cite after each item the reference to Craig's work.

5. Arusian agrees with Σ against A: 6 good cases (pp. 34-38).¹a. *Eun.* 723 (troch. septenar.)

hac re et te omni turba evolves et illi gratum feceris.

omni te A; te omni Σ Arusian 472 (s.v. *evolvere*).

It is of course possible that Arusian may have used Φ , the common parent of A and S, but it is more likely that he used Σ .² Certain it is that he did not follow the unmetrical transposition of A.

b. *Hec.* 393 (troch. septenar.)

nam aiunt tecum post duobus concubuisse [eam] mensibus.

eam om. A. Σ has *eam*, with Arusian 497, whose point is

"post with the ablative."

Craig would call the omission of A an individual error, not an error of the "A text." This is hardly a justifiable assumption.³ Furthermore, since the line scans with or without *eam*, it may well be that Σ has inserted it and has been followed by Arusian.

c. *Ad.* 262 (iamb. octonar.)

quin omnia sibi post putarit esse prae meo commodo.

quin (qui) omn. *Jov.* Σ *Don.*, Arusian 502; qui ignominia A (*pro*

qui in omn.?)

Arusian is following Σ , or Φ (the parent of A and S). A copies Φ erroneously.

d. *Ad.* 316 (iamb. octonar.). Two instances.

sublime[m] medium primum arriperem et capite in terra statuerem.

primum ante arrip. A; primum ante in Σ Arusian 511;terra A; terram Σ Arusian.

A stands alone in transferring *primum* to the first part of the line. Here is an excellent case of Arusian agreeing with Σ in an error (for

¹ There are also three weak cases: *Phorm.* 821 (pp. 34-35), in which Arusian has been imperfectly transmitted; *Hec.* 227 (p. 35), in which A omits a line through homoeoarchon; and *Ad.* 876 (pp. 37-38), in which A probably makes an independent error.

² Craig would hold that Arusian used the "A text," not A. The A text Craig understands (*op. cit.*, p. 3) as referring to the text of which A is the sole surviving representative and not to A's individual errors and deviations. But while, as he holds, there may possibly have been other copies of the A text, there is no proof that such copies existed. This distinction, then, convenient as it is in accounting for variations in A, falls to the ground. Unless further testimony to the contrary appears, A must be assumed to be the A text and not a copy.

³ On the A text see preceding note.

pronom in Φ ?) against A. The facts are hard to explain in any other way. In *terram*, moreover, Arusian agrees again with Σ against A.

e. *Ad.* 320 (iamb. octonar.)

sed cesso eram hoc malo impertiri propere? SO. revocemus: Geta. GE. hem.

-tiri A *gl. I*; -tire Σ Arusian 481.

Craig suggests here that the text of Arusian may have been tampered with and that it may have read *impertiri* originally. But there is no evidence whatsoever that this is true.

6. Arusian agrees with some γ and δ MSS (together) against A and the rest of γ and δ : 3 possible cases (pp. 38-40).¹

a. *Eun.* 1020 (iamb. septenar.)

sed in diem istuc, Parmeno, est fortasse quod minare.

minare A D E^1 p^1 ; minitare γ (*praeter* E^1) L p^2 E^2 Arusian 487 (-ris).

Craig again suggests, without warrant, that the text of Arusian may have been tampered with and that it may originally have agreed with A.

b. *Hec.* 555 (troch. septenar.)

(nam si is posset ab ea sese derepente avellere)

quicum tot consuisset annos, non eum hominem ducerem.

quacum A *v* (*non Don.*; Arusian 460 [*<consuevit eum >illa muliere*]).

Granting that A and *v* have not recognized the old ablative form common to all genders and that they have independently misapplied their intelligence, Arusian agrees with Σ (*praeter v*) and Φ , and not with A.

c. *Hec.* 714 (iamb. senar.)

nam omnino abhorrere animum huic video a nuptiis.

a om. A D^2 L E (*non* Arusian 452).

Arusian is definitely giving an instance of *abhorrere ab illo*. Donatus also attests a. If the omission be the result of independent errors, Arusian still agrees with Σ (*praeter* D^2 L E), and Φ , and not with A.

7. Arusian agrees with γ MSS (only) against A and δ and the rest of γ : 1 possible case (p. 41).

¹ There are also three weak cases: *Hec.* 169, in which A and E have probably made independent omissions; *Hec.* 199, in which Arusian may have made an independent error; and *Ad.* 786, in which Arusian hits upon an inferior substitute which is later adopted by some of the minuscule MSS.

Hec. 686 (iamb. senar.)

egi atque oravi tecum uxorem ut duceres.

ut om. *C¹ P¹ Arusian* 496 (illustrating "oro tecum pro te oro").

Craig would call this an independent omission by all three.

8. Arusian agrees with δ MSS (only) against A, γ , and the rest of δ (pp. 41-44). All of the instances quoted (*Eun.* 883; *Hec.* 203, 262; and *Ad.* 464) are weak.

9. In parts of Terence for which A is lacking (*Andr.* up to 889 and *Ad.* between 915 and 997) Arusian appears to be on the side of Γ against Δ : 2 cases (pp. 46-49).¹

Such is the evidence in Arusian. It is the foundation on which Craig builds his conclusion that "the copy of Terence used by Arusian for his illustrative quotations was a copy of the edition of which the codex Bembinus is our only surviving representative."² Certainly one cannot conclude, with points 5, 6, and 7 above staring him in the face, that Arusian did not have access to γ - and to δ -readings! The fact is that the evidence in Arusian is insufficient to establish definitely the manuscript (or manuscripts) he used.

II. NONIUS MARCELLUS

Date.—We know that Nonius lived before Priscian (*ca.* 500 A.D.) and after Apuleius (*ca.* 150 A.D.). He may possibly have been alive in 323, although there is no proof that the dedicatory inscription of that year to Nonius Marcellus Herculius refers to the grammarian. These are the facts. Yet Craig says: "We shall be content with putting him in the period fourth or fifth century."³ Such an assignment is unwarranted. The testimony shows no more than that he lived between 150 and 500 A.D. His date may easily have come at any time within this period. If, therefore, he flourished before the Calliopian recension, there is no need on that account of dating this recension later than *ca.* 300 A.D. (the time at which it actually was written according to Jachmann).⁴ One cannot determine the dates of the manuscripts Nonius used until his own date is determined. Craig's investigation of this grammarian is therefore based on an assumption—that he lived in

¹ *Andr.* 302, 639. Three other cases are cited, but the evidence is too scanty to be decisive.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁴ Günther Jachmann, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

the fourth or fifth century—and is consequently of little value in discovering the time at which the Calliopian recension was written.

For the sake of argument, however, let us admit Craig's assumption that Nonius belongs to the fourth or fifth century (which is of course a possibility) and consider briefly what text of Terence he uses in his quotations.

EVIDENCE OF THE TERENCEAN QUOTATIONS

1. Nonius' citations taken from his own copy of Terence:

- a. Nonius agrees with Σ (less E) against AE: once (*Ad.* 87).
- b. Nonius agrees with C^2 δ against A γ (less C^2): once (*Ad.* 985).
- c. Nonius agrees with δ (less p^2) against A γ p^2 : once (*Eun.* 628).

These three cases are admitted by Craig to be fairly strong (pp. 56–58).

- d. Nonius agrees with Σ against A: 5 good cases (pp. 59–61).¹

Of these cases one is listed by Craig as doubtful:

Eun. 316 (iamb. octonar.)

(siquaest habitior paullo pugilem esse aiunt, deducunt cibum):
tam etsi bonast natura reddunt curatura iunceas.

iunceas Σ *Don. in Andr.* 941, *Nonius* 943; -eam A.

Craig would distinguish the "A text" (i.e., the ancestor of A, which presumably had *iunceas*) from A, which has an individual error. Yet the only ancestor of A for whose existence we have any proof is Φ (also ancestor of Σ). Nonius, then, agrees with Σ (and Φ) against A.

- e. In every case but one (*Eun.* 1056–57) or possibly two (*Haut.* 314) of over a score in which Nonius agrees with A, he also agrees with one or more of the minuscule manuscripts. There is no positive evidence that he used either a specific minuscule text or A. (Craig holds that he used a manuscript of the "A type.")

2. Nonius' citations not taken from his own copy of Terence:

- a. Four times Nonius' source has given him a version which sides with some of the minuscule manuscripts of Terence against A and the rest of the minuscule manuscripts (pp. 75–77). (Here Craig mentions the possibility of error in transcription in Nonius and of individual error in A.)

¹ Craig (*op. cit.*, p. 61) admits but four: "In four instances then we may grant that the copy of Terence used by Nonius had the versions (inferior) of the minuscule MSS. known to us, and not the versions of the text represented by A. . . . We could insist on the possibility that in the course of transmission of Nonius these readings were taken from a contemporary minuscule MS. of Terence." That the text of Nonius may have been tampered with in the course of transmission is of course a possibility, but it is dangerous to assume such tampering in every case of his agreement with Σ against A which cannot be explained otherwise.

- b. Nonius' quotations accord three times with A and some δ manuscripts against the rest, and once with A against Σ (pp. 78-79).
- c. In lines for which A is lacking Nonius is opposed three times to Σ , and opposed twice to Donatus in agreement with Σ (pp. 80-81).

So much for the evidence in Nonius. Craig concludes (pp. 69-70, 83) that Nonius used a manuscript of the A type. But he seems also to have used minuscule manuscripts! It must be admitted, then, that in Nonius, as in Arusian, the testimony is too weak and too contradictory to establish definitely the manuscript (or manuscripts) he consulted.

III. EUGRAPHIUS

Date.—Since Eugraphius pretty certainly made use of Donatus, the *terminus post quem* for his date is the middle of the fourth century. The *terminus ante quem* is fixed by the fact that the diction and character of Eugraphius' commentary are not foolish enough to be mediaeval. He may have lived at "the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century," as Craig, following Wessner, would have it,¹ or again, he may have flourished as early as 350 A.D. It should be noted that even if Craig's conclusion that Eugraphius could not have used the Calliopian edition be accepted (the present writer does not accept it), this edition might still have been written shortly after 350.

EVIDENCE OF THE TERENCEAN QUOTATIONS²

Craig's division of the Eugraphius comments into three classes is adopted here: certain readings (a), readings not attested but implied by comment (b), and probable readings (c).³

1. Eugraphius agrees with Σ against A alone: 7 times (b. 18; c. 8, 9 [second example], 12, 13, 14, 16).
2. Eugraphius agrees with some γ and some δ manuscripts (together) against A and the rest of γ and δ : 5 times (b. 15, 23; c. 9 [first example], 15, 19).
3. Eugraphius agrees with γ manuscripts (only) against A and δ and the rest of γ : 3 times (once doubtfully) (a. 3; c. 4, 17 doubtful).
4. Eugraphius agrees with δ manuscripts (only) against A and γ

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 84.

² A summary of Craig, *ibid.*, pp. 92-119. I shall quote citations in only one or two instances. The reader may verify the statistics presented here by referring to Craig's book.

³ To save time I shall use Craig's notation throughout; thus "b. 18" means *Haut.* 1008, an example of an implied reading (b) listed eighteenth in order. I shall omit five items as unimportant (b. 1, 5, 9; c. 1, 21).

and the rest of δ : 5 times (b. 22, 27; c. 5, 7, 10). Particularly strong is c. 5: *Eun.* 673 (iamb. senar.):

domi non offendissem, ita iam ornarat fugam.

ornarat A; adornabat *D G L* p^1 ; adornat η ϵ ; adornarat *cett.*
(adorn. *etiam Don.*?)

Eugr. lemma: adornabat (-narat F B^1).

Eugr. comment (all MSS): veste mutata se ad fugam praeparabat (strongly suggesting that Eugraphius read the imperfect tense).

5. Eugraphius agrees with A alone against Σ : 8 times (a. 2; b. 2?, 7, 13, 19, 20, 21, 24).

6. Eugraphius agrees with A and δ manuscripts (as a whole) against γ : twice (a. 7; c. 11).

7. Eugraphius agrees with A and some δ manuscripts against γ and the rest of δ : 4 times (a. 1; b. 6, 25; c. 18).

8. Eugraphius agrees with A and γ manuscripts (as a whole) against δ (as a whole): once (c. 6).

9. Eugraphius agrees with A and some γ manuscripts against δ and the rest of γ : 4 times (b. 10, 26, c. 2, 22).

10. Eugraphius agrees with A and some γ and some δ manuscripts against the rest: 7 times (a. 4?, 6?; b. 4?, 8, 12, 14; c. 20).

11. Eugraphius agrees with $\text{AS}\Gamma\Delta$: 5 times (a. 5?; b. 3, 11, 16, 17).

Briefly, Eugraphius sides with A alone against other manuscripts 8 times (one instance is doubtful); with γ manuscripts alone against others, 3 times; with δ manuscripts alone against others, 5 times; with Σ (i.e., δ and γ manuscripts together) alone against A, 7 times. These statistics are rather different from those in Craig (pp. 120–21), where the agreement of Eugraphius with A is emphasized and his agreement with γ or δ , or Σ , particularly against A, minimized. On the basis of the evidence presented it is impossible to say that Eugraphius knew the A text, but did not know a minuscule manuscript (or manuscripts).

If the evidence of the Terentian quotations in all three grammarians (Arusian, Nonius, and Eugraphius) be summed up, the result is too small and weak and contradictory to establish definitely the text or texts they used or might have used.¹ If these grammarians were

¹ There is no question here about the Donatus commentary. Craig merely states (but does not try to prove) his belief (pp. 129–30) that it has been tampered with in the instances in which it shows traces of the Δ -tradition.

familiar with the Bembine Codex, they seem also to have been familiar with manuscripts of the Calliopian family. One need not, then, agree with Craig that the Bembine Codex was necessarily a superior and a "standard" text. In particular, one need not agree with him that the Calliopian recension is as late as the end of the fifth century and its division into Γ and Δ as late as the sixth century.

To make a destructive criticism is always unpleasant but often essential. The present writer's task is somewhat lightened by the fact that there are several possibilities, as yet inadequately explored, which may bring considerable clarity to the dark tradition of the Terence text. The first of these is a thorough investigation of the authenticity of our commentary of Donatus, the desirability of which is quite apparent to Craig.¹ The second is a more careful evaluation of the relationship between Δ and Γ through a critical study of the text.² The third is an inspection of the Terence miniatures. The present writer has pointed out, in an article published in 1927,³ several ways in which the miniatures make a distinct contribution to our knowledge of the text. In a work to appear within the next few months, in collaboration with C. R. Morey,⁴ he will elaborate his statements still further. Textual critics are prone to dismiss the miniatures with the feeling that artist and scribe of a given manuscript are usually two different persons, not necessarily contemporaneous, and possibly from two different lands. They overlook valuable testimony: the fact that the miniatures, for example, when they can be dated, set at least a *terminus ante quem* for the text and the further fact that the miniatures are inextricably connected with the scene headings, which in turn have a material bearing upon the text. There is no reason why text and miniatures should not go hand in hand. Certainly in such a labyrinth as the Terence tradition one cannot afford to miss anything that promises help.

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¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 130.

² This is suggested by Craig's reviewer, L.-A. Constans, *loc. cit.*

³ "The Archetypes of the Terence Miniatures," *Art Bulletin*, X, No. 1 (September, 1927), 102-20.

⁴ *Op. cit.*

INTERRELATION OF THE LATIN POETS UNDER DOMITIAN

BY R. B. STEELE

THE epic poems of Valerius Flaccus, Statius, and Silius Italicus, as well as the poetry of Martial, show a similar ethical and poetical attitude, as much so as if the writers had been trained in the same rhetorical school. Flaccus died shortly before the publication of the work of Quintilian, so that he was working in the early part of the career of Statius and Silius, and each may have heard the recitations of the other. Martial eulogizes the work of Silius, and a number of parallels show that he was acquainted with the work of Statius whom he does not mention. In the absence of exact temporal data, priority in the authorship of similar passages cannot be definitely determined in all cases, and they will be presented as examples of interrelation.

Certain fundamental ethical terms as *inclementia* and *reverentia* occur frequently, and here and there is a special touch, as in Flaccus i. 30, *virtus haud laeta tyranno*; Statius *Theb.* ix. 717, *hortatrix animosi gloria leti*; Silius i. 149, *et metui demens credebat honorem*. More noticeable are the indications of the attitude of the writers to the royal family. Its praises are briefly sounded by Flaccus, while both Statius and Silius¹ and Martial, *passim*, are profuse in the laudations of Domitian.

The common literary object of the epic writers was to reflect the beauty that was Vergil's and the brightness that was Lucan's, and in this respect they were akin. This was the main object, but there are also everywhere evidences of pieces from earlier poets woven into the fabric of their poems.² There was little that was original in general outlines or in specific features, and the appearance of fineness of technique was sought by the introduction of appropriate scenes, figures, and pieces of coloring from others. We are thus given scenes,

¹ See *Theb.* i. 17-33; xii. 814-15; Silius iii. 607-29; xiv. 686-88.

² See Groesst, *Quatenus Silius Italicus a Vergilio Pendere videatur*; R. B. Steele, "The Method of Silius Italicus," *Class. Phil.*, XIV, 319 ff.

not identical but similar, with equal figures and varied coloring. A few illustrations will suffice. Vergil has a far-sought simile in *Aen.* ix. 30 ff.:

Ceu septem surgens sedatis amnibus altus
Per tacitum Ganges aut pingui flumine Nilus
Cum refluit campis et iam condidit alveo.

Flaccus in viii. 90 f. introduces other rivers:

Ceu refluens Padus aut septem proiectus in amnes
Nilus et Hesperium veniens Alpheos in orbem.

Statius in *Theb.* iv. 705 f. reduces the figures to one in a simile still differently applied:

Sin ubi se magnis refluus suppressit in antris
Nilus et Eoae liquentia pabula brumae
Ore premit.

In these the common bond is *refluus* or some form of *refluo*. Vergil (*Aen.* xii. 134 ff.) represents Juno as watching from the Alban Mount. Flaccus (vii. 189 ff.), in a simile that is certainly "far, vague, and dim," transfers her to the Caucasus, and Silius (v. 206 f.) changes the scene to the Apennines, while Statius (*Theb.* ix. 679 f.) has his goddess take her stand, rather than sit, on the summit of the Dircaean Mount. This variation is accounted for by the fact that in an earlier presentation (i. 628 ff.) he adhered to the type.

We have presented elsewhere¹ the similes in which Lucifer figures, and with these may be placed the portrayals of Liber by Statius and Silius.² In these Statius was the leader as he presents only Liber, while Silius combines with Hercules, and in iv. 275 f. presents Mimas in the same scene. Here, however, he may be following Statius (*Achil.* i. 484), *cum pallentes Phlegraea in castra coirent | Caelicolae*. Statius in describing a serpent (*Theb.* v. 515 ff.) speaks of his destroying trees and stretching clear across a river. Silius (vi. 164) shows us the latter, and gives an illustration of the first (vi. 195 f.):

Arboris abstraxit molem penitusque revulsam
Evertit fundo et radicibus eruit imis.

All these writers seem to have been in search of the matchless word or phrase, and trying to do for Vergil what he had done for Ennius.

¹ *TAPA*, XLIX, 98.

² *Theb.* vii. 564 ff.; viii. 237 ff.; Silius xvii. 647 ff.; iv. 275 f.

So manifold are the ways of adaptation that only a touch here and there can be indicated. Vergil writes of Nisus (*Aen.* iii. 320)

Emicat et ventis et fulminis oclor alis,

and henceforth "flashing forth" was expressed by *emicat*, and the winds continued to be the standard basis of comparison for swiftness. It was the same with some other terms, as *arduus*, *ignescere*, *inglorius*, and *solamen*, for which the implication had been fixed. However, there cannot be any definite determination of the extent to which the suggestiveness of earlier forms had an influence in shaping new presentations. *Pyrenen* . . . *Pyrenen*, says Silius (iii. 438 f.) in successive lines, and the sound points to *Eurydicen* . . . *Eurydicen* in *Georg.* iv. 525 f. We may also be sure that the cry *aquae* . . . *aquae* (*Theb.* iv. 811 f.) was intended to reproduce the effect of *Italiam* . . . *Italiam* (*Aen.* iii. 523 f.). Statius (*Theb.* x. 544 ff.) portrays the death of Antheas, and retains *lora*, *trahuntur*, *cervix*, and *comarum* to show that this is a transformation of the Troilus scene (*Aen.* i. 477 ff.). It is the same with uncounted other passages in which something is retained to indicate the source. A single illustration will suffice. Statius has (*Theb.* viii. 509) *teneo aeternumque tenebo*, which changes in part *Aen.* vi. 617, *sedet aeternumque sedebit*.

Of the writers we are considering Flaccus worked within the narrowest limits. Vergil was his master, and everywhere are patches with Vergilian color.¹ Baehrens asserts that there is no sure evidence of his use of Ovid. Yet there are two passages in which he develops a scene, the same or similar to one that had been developed by Ovid. The rescue of Hesione by Hercules in ii. 462-575 is parallel to that of Andromeda by Perseus in *Met.* iv. 663-739. The descriptions begin differently, for Perseus saw Andromeda, while Hercules only heard Hesione. A few expressions may be incidental to the description of any such scene, as the following, with the reference to Ovid first: *occupat* (716:521); *clamor* (735:539); *belua ponto* (689): *ponto* | *Belua* (477), *cur vincla geras* (681): *tendunt cur vincula palmas* (469); *plangoremque ferunt* (694): *inter plangtus* (481). The lines (680:468) contain *nomen*, and are both padded with *-que*'s, and the words of Ovid, *Marmoreum ratus esset opus* (675), are a sufficient basis for the simile of Flaccus (465 ff.):

¹ See Baehrens' edition, *Loci Vergiliani*, and *Praef.* ix.

Exanimus veluti multa tandem arte coactum
 Maeret ebur, Pariusve notas et nomina sumpsit
 Cum lapis aut liquidi referunt miranda colores.

There are similar resemblances in the Medea scenes (*Met.* vii. 1 ff.) and Flaccus (vii. 567 ff.), as *tauros . . . terrigenasque feros* (35): *tauros . . . ferosque* | *Terrigenas* (504). As both passages in Flaccus are thickset with Vergilian reminiscences, the comparatively few parallels to Ovid show that he kept the latter subordinate to Vergil.

There is an occasional reminder of Horace, as *imae summis* | *Miscuit* (iv. 517): *imae summis* | *Mutare* (*Odes* i. 34. 12); and *memori noscere sepulchro* (iv. 314), a metrical transformation of *nostri memorem sepulchro* | *Scalpe querellam* (*Odes* iii. 11. 51 f.).

The poetical scheme of Silius was similar, and he drew freely from Livy, Vergil, and Lucan, with an occasional touch from other writers. A good illustration of his use of Vergil is in iii. 571-629, in which is given a sketch of the Flavian dynasty. It begins with *pelle metus* to call attention to Vergil's *parce metu* when describing the Julian family in *Aen.* i. 257-97. The Carthaginian fleet sails for Africa, and as if it were a second "Argo," he puts in (vii. 414) an adaptation of Catullus lxiv. 14, and in xii. 355 makes use of another expression from the same writer (v. 52). A few passages were written with an eye to the *Odes* of Horace.¹ In the description of the plague at Syracuse (xiv. 580-617) Silius drew from Lucretius (vi. 1137-1276) as had Vergil (*Georg.* iii. 440-556). He also used Ovid, as in the account of the fire at the Trebia (iv. 675-95), the locality perhaps suggesting the utilization of Ovid's account of Phaethon (*Met.* ii. 210-313). One of the most interesting episodes (viii. 25-241) gives a description of Anna from material furnished by Ovid (*Fasti* iii. 524-656) and Vergil (*Aen.* iv. 630-92). Along with this blending of Ovidian and Vergilian color there are also a few patches from other writers. There is a similar use of material by Statius (*Silv.* v. 2. 118).

The judgment of Statius is generally excellent, although his learning seems misapplied when he mentions Osiris and Mithras (i. 718). His characters are often those of earlier writers presented under different names. He sometimes admits this, as in *Theb.* i. 605 ff., *haut tulit Coroebus*, which introduces an actor with a fate far different from that

¹ xi. 460: i. 10. 19; iii. 110: i. 35. 22; ix. 554: i. 2. 38.

of Coroebus in *Aen.* ii. 407 ff. In portraying the deeds of Hopleus and Dymas (*Theb.* x. 447-48) he closes with a reference to Nisus and Euryalus, and in *fortunate animi* (*ibid.* i. 638) he adapts *fortunati ambo* (*Aen.* ix. 446). Hypsipyle (*Theb.* v. 573) is another Ariadne (Catullus lxiv. 61), as well as an Andromache (*Theb.* v. 47, 498; *Aen.* iii. 317, 329). One of the neatest transformations is that of *Aen.* ii. 487, *cavae plangoribus aedes | Femineis ululant, to resonant ululatibus aedes | Femineis* (*Theb.* v. 697), an equivalent verb being placed at the beginning instead of at the end, and one noun substituted for another. For another variation see *ibid.* x. 562. Many are the reproductions, but the variations are more interesting as they indicate something of the inventive power of the author. Two illustrations of this will be given. He writes of Creon (*ibid.*, xi. 653), *scandit fatale tyrannis | Flebilis Aoniae solium*, having in mind the words of Vergil (*Aen.* ii. 237), *scandit fatalis machina muros | Feta armis*. Equally noticeable is the use made of the well-known words of Vergil (*ibid.* ii. 774; iii. 48):

Obstupui, steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit,

which are changed in form and application (*Theb.* x. 688):

Cum genitor—steteruntque ambo et vox haesit utrimque.

A clear indication that his desire to make use of the words of Vergil sometimes carried him too far is found in his simile of the bees (*ibid.* x. 580) closing with the words *pressere ad pectora ceras*, a strange use of *Aen.* vii. 518:

Et trepidae matres pressere ad pectora natos.

Silius (viii. 129) keeps nearer the Vergilian picture with *cinerem orbatae pressant ad pectora matres*.

Statius seems to have used Horace more freely than did Flaccus. As in the latter there is at times a statement drawn from Catullus or Lucretius. The injunction in regard to the steed Arion (*Theb.* vi. 319 f.), "*urge alios*," inquit, "*stimulisque minisque | Ille ibit minus ipse voles*," which is followed by a simile referring to Phaethon, shows that the suggestion came from *Met.* ii. 127, *parce, puer, stimulis. Magnis conatibus instas* (*Theb.* ii. 328) is the reverse of the epitaph of Phaethon, *magnis tamen excidit ausis* (*Met.* ii. 328).

The declaration *inevitabile numen* (*Theb.* ix. 549) and *immoto deducimur orbe | Fatorum* (*ibid.* vii. 198 f.) may be without conscious

reference to Seneca (*Ep.* lxxxviii. 15), *agit illa continuus ordo fatorum et inevitabilis cursus*, yet *omne homini natale solum* (*Theb.* viii. 320) gives a little piece of philosophy which is repeated by Seneca in various ways (*Ep.* xxviii. 4; *Dial.* vii. 20; ix. 4. 3; xii. 9. 7). *Si quis tibi sensus ad umbras*, says Statius (*Theb.* xii. 214), and it is the query of Seneca, *Si quis defuncti sensus est* (*Dial.* xi. 5. 22). This may have been in the mind of Tacitus when he wrote *si quis piorum manibus locus* (*Agr.* xlvi. 1), and he may also have taken *novi nos et viles* (*ibid.* xxxi. 11) from *Theb.* i. 191, *nos viles in omnes | Prompta manus casus*, although both writers may have had in mind the words of Lucan, *nos viles animas* (v. 683).

Evidence of the use of Martial by Statius is found in a few passages. The latter has (*Silv.* i. 6. 67; 91/92 A.D.) *faciles emi puellae*, and Martial (iii. 69. 5; 87/88 A.D.), *nequam iuvenes facilisque puella*. A still closer resemblance is in *Theb.* v. 341:

Mitior et senibus cygnis et pectine Phoebi,

reproducing Martial (v. 37. 1; 89 A.D.):

Puella senibus dulcior mihi cygnis.

These illustrations show something of the field from which the poets drew, and that they all had the same literary aims and followed the same method in the utilization of material. The same aim and the same method are also shown in their work in certain fields.

The descriptions of works of art are not without interest, as an indication of a community of taste on the part of the writers. Vergil furnished suggestions in the Trojan scene in the temple at Carthage (*Aen.* i. 453-93), in the Daedalus picture at Cumae (*ibid.* vi. 20-33), and in the history on the shield of Aeneas (*ibid.* viii. 608-731). In the first we find

Crinibus Iliades passis peplumque ferebant,

and this was a suggestion for future developments. As Aeneas at Carthage, so Jason looked upon a scene at the temple of Aeetes (Flaccus v. 410-45), *haec tum miracula Colchis | Struxerat ignipotens*, just as he made the shield for Aeneas (*Aen.* viii. 628). The description begins with *stat ferreus Atlas*, but the part of most interest to Jason is

Texitur Argoa pinus Pegasaea securi.

However, as a touch in poetic method there is none other comparable to the far-fetched statement *ut prima Sesostris | Intulerat rex bella*

Getis. It is only the vivid impression made by the temple raised to the memory of Archemorus that is emphasized in the *Thebaid*. He says *stat saxea moles* (vi. 242), and continues:

. . . expectes morientis ab ore cruenta
Sibila, marmorea sic volvitur sanguis in hasta.

A mythological procession is introduced later (*ibid.* 269-93), with much left to the imagination of the reader—*mille dehinc species*.

Mulciber (vii. 42-62) is also the author of a work which delineates personified abstractions, such as *Irae*, *Metus*, and *Discordia* as the companions of Mars. Similar to this is the palace of Sleep (x. 84-106), also the work of Mulciber. The construction of the passage is interesting as *haec species* is thrown in as a connective between the account of the place and that of Somnus himself. Silius (i. 81 ff.), as if with reference to Flaccus, begins his account of the temple at Carthage with *stat gloria gentis Agenor*, but the setting is that of *Aen.* i. 729 ff. The temple visited by Hannibal (iii. 32 ff.), *in foribus labor Alcidae*, is patterned after that at Cumae (*Aen.* vi. 20), *in foribus letum Androgeos*. An epitome of Carthaginian history is given (vi. 653-96), the opening words suggestive of Vergil, and the closing, *cernere erat*, used also by Statius (*Theb.* ii. 215; vii. 61), and by Silius in describing the shield of Hannibal (ii. 395-450). The *cassis* of Hippomedon is briefly described (*Theb.* iv. 129-44), *perfectaque vivit in auro | Nox Danaï*. The description of the equipment of Capaneus is similar (iv. 165-86), *nigrescit in auro*. Statius presents in detail (x. 49-78) the peplum which the *fusae Pelopeides* were offering, and the words *mirabile textum* for *mirabile donum* indicate the basis of the sketch. Subordinate sketches are the *monilia* of Harmonia, also the work of Vulcan (ii. 269-88). Among the gifts to victors are shown some cups (vi. 536) delineating the fight with the Lapithae, and a chlamys showing Hero and Leander (vi. 547).

Of more than passing interest are the two accounts of a statue of Hercules by Martial (ix. 43; 94 A.D.) and by Statius (*Silv.* iv. 4. 6; 95 A.D.). This was the work of Lysippus, and successively in the possession of Alexander, Hannibal, and Sulla. There are a few verbal touches showing that Statius drew on Martial for some of his material. Valid evidence of this is the occurrence of the words *parci domus admirata Molorchi* at the beginning of the passage in Statius, and of

placidi conviva Molorch at the end of that in Martial. Notice also the adaptation of Martial's

Hoc habuit numen Pellaei mensa tyranni

by Statius: *Pellaeus habebat* | *Regnator laetis numen venerabile mensis*. Statius also has *nunc quoque* for Martial's *nunc*, and *saevi . . . Sullae* for *Sullam . . . trucem*. Compare also the reference to Molorchus in Martial (iv. 64. 30) and Statius (*Theb.* iv. 160).

There is an occasional instance in Vergil where Sleep lulls men, or else brings a message, thus furnishing the occasion for a new guiding star. This activity is at times identical with divine disposition, and Sleep is in reality another actor in the epic scene. The visitations are the most frequent in the *Thebaid* which sets forth its activities and its palace (x. 84-117). The keywords *nulli penetrabilis astro* were suggested by Ovid's *penetralia* (*Met.* xi. 593). The address in Ovid (*ibid.* 623),

Somne, quies rerum, placidissime, Somne, deorum,

is slightly changed by Statius (*Theb.* x. 126) to *mitissime divum* | *Somne*, while *cubat ipse* becomes *ipse . . . incubat*, and the comparison of Ovid (*Met.* xi. 614):

Somnia vana iacent totidem, quot messis aristas,
Silva gerit frondes, eiectas litus harenas,

is generalized by Statius (*Theb.* x. 112):

Adsunt innumero circum vaga Somnia vultu.

However, the statement of location by Statius (*ibid.* 86), *cavis grave rupibus antrum* | *It vacuum in montem*, resembles the words in *Aen.* vi. 42 more than they do those of Ovid. Another passage (*ibid.* 854-56) is expanded by Flaccus (viii. 81 ff.) with *Lethaei . . . rami* for *Lethaeo rore*. Ovid (*Met.* vii. 152) has another variation, and Silius (x. 356) still another. The touch of Somnus is set forth in various ways. Flaccus has (viii. 85) *adverso luctantia lumina cantu* | *Obruit . . . donec sopor occupet iras*; Silius seems to have had this in mind when he wrote *tempora quassatus . . .* | *Donec composuit luctantia lumina Somnus*. Compare also *morientia lumina solvit* (*Theb.* x. 303); *dum lumina pulveris haustu* | *Obruit* (*Silv.* v. 2. 223), and especially *rorantia lumina tersit* (*ibid.* ii. 2. 102), which was utilized by Silius in *rorantia lumina flexit* (viii. 139).

A subordinate item is similarity in the expression of distance. Flaccus has (viii. 303) *nec longius inter | Quam quod tela velet, superest mare*. Statius has similar statements (v. 361; vi. 353) as also Silius (xii. 654):

Tantum ad bella loci, quantum trmittere iactae
Sufficerent hastae.

Similar literary inclinations are shown by common borrowings. Variations in *arma virumque* are characteristic of Silius, and occasionally in Statius. Similar to this is Vergil's *furit inmissis Vulcanus habenis* (*Aen.* v. 662), which furnished a model for later writers, e.g., Flaccus, *volat inmissis pinus habenis* (i. 687); Silius (xi. 399; iv. 681), the latter closely following the model,

Inmissis crepitat victor Vulcanus habenis.

The best illustrations of the use of inherited material are in the references to the star Cynosura. Cicero (*ND* ii. 41. 106; *Acad.* ii. 20. 66) has, contrasted with Helice, the following about the star:

Qua fidunt duce nocturna Phoenix in alto

(*ut ait Aratus*). Manilius (i. 298-302) considers them in reverse order, setting forth the same facts. Lucan (iii. 219), Flaccus (i. 17-78), and Silius (iii. 665) have similar statements, Flaccus apparently following Manilius, and Silius, Lucan. Like these passages are those into which Sirius has been worked in comparisons. These may start from the general statement of Vergil (*Georg.* iv. 425; *Aen.* iii. 141), or from Lucan (x. 211), *rapidus qua ignes | Exerit*. Flaccus (i. 638-86) has Sirius as one of the elements in a simile, characterizing the star as *Calabri populator Sirius arvi*, although this location is entirely outside of the sphere of the operations of the Argonauts. He introduces the star again (v. 368) but without definite location. Silius (i. 256; xiv. 620; xvi. 99) was apparently influenced by the wording of Flaccus. In the same class with these may be placed the references to comets. Vergil (*Georg.* i. 488; *Aen.* x. 272) mentions their baneful influence. Lucan in i. 529, *mutantem regna cometen*, sets forth their relation to kingdoms, and this is continued by Flaccus (vi. 608), Statius (*Theb.* i. 708), and Silius (i. 461), the last with an addition, *terret fera regna cometes | Sanguineum spargens ignem*.

Entirely foreign to the time of all the epics, and to the sphere of all excepting that of Silius, are the portrayals of the eruption of

Vesuvius. Flaccus has a brief mention (iii. 209), and a fully developed simile (iv. 50-57):

Sicut prorupti tonuit cum forte Vesevi
Hesperiae letalis apex, vixdum ignea montem
Torsit hiemps iamque Eoasque cinis induit urbes.

Silius mentions the mountain (viii. 654; xii. 152), and in the latter part of his simile (xvii. 592-96) gives unmistakable evidence that he was adapting the words of Flaccus. The *Thebaid* does not mention the mountain, but has the derived adjective in a few passages. Both Flaccus (iii. 456-67) and Silius (v. 385) associate Jupiter with Ceraunia, and this is the more noticeable as the place is associated with neither the writers nor the actors. The former shows only the removal of the storm and the coming of the calm; the latter only the storm.

The Ganges was introduced into Latin epic poetry by Vergil, and, as we have shown, Flaccus substituted the Nile for it in a simile. The adjectives applied to it by Statius (iv. 387; xii. 787) are taken from Lucan (ii. 496; viii. 227), but the chief interest attaches to some indefinite pictures intended to emphasize distance. Statius has

Quique bibit Gangen aut nigrum occasibus intrat Oceanum [i. 686],

and Silius (xiii. 765) repeats the first part in a description of Alexander. He also uses the river (viii. 408) to fix the boundaries of the fame of Cicero. The Padus is mentioned by Flaccus (i. 527; v. 429) and Statius took over a part of the phraseology (*Theb.* xii. 413):

Sic Hyperionium tepido Phaethonta sorores
Fumantem lavere Pado.

The association of the Hermus and Tagus had apparently become conventional by the time of Domitian, and the two are not infrequently associated.¹

A number of geographical and personal adjectives have a like treatment. *Caledonius* seems to have become known to Latin poetry after the time of Vergil, as he has only *toto divisos orbe Britannos* (*Ecl.* i. 66). Lucan adds the adjective

Unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos [vi. 68].

Flaccus shows the widening of geographical knowledge in i. 7 ff., and Martial (x. 44. 1) combines *visure* (Hor. *Odes* ii. 6. 1) with the words of Lucan. Silius (iii. 598) keeps the adjective in the same metrical

¹ Statius *Silv.* i. 1. 129; i. 3. 108; Martial vi. 86. 5, viii. 78. 6; Silius i. 155.

position, and gives as a prophecy the fact stated by Flaccus. *Cleoneus* is used with some freedom in the *Silvae*, and occasionally elsewhere.¹ The usage with *Cyaneus* is similar. Mela has the noun (ii. 7. 99), *credita dictaeque concurrere*, and Ovid has the adjective (*Tristia* i. 10. 34), and later writers used it in illustrations.²

Although Vergil uses *Idumaeas . . . palmas* (*Georg.* iii. 12), the place had a special significance under the Flavian rulers. Flaccus declares (i. 12) *versam proles tua pandet Idumen*, and Silius (vii. 456) and Martial (x. 50. 1) repeat the words of Vergil. Silius has (iii. 600) an adaptation of the words of Flaccus, and both Statius (*Silv.* iii. 3. 140) and Martial (ii. 2. 5) have *Idumaei . . . triumphi*. Of the same import is the use of *lauriger* by both writers, and by Silius in a broad application (v. 412), *laurigeris decus illud avis*. A line of Ovid (*Met.* vii. 1),

Iamque fretum Minyae Pagasaea puppe secabant,

was the suggestion to later writers for similar combinations of the adjective with *puppis*, *pinus*, or *ratis*.³ There is a similar variation in the nouns *iuga*, *saxa*, and *nemora*, used with *Pangaeus*.⁴

The use of some terms seems to have been due to their metrical felicity, as *Isthmiacus*, which in four passages⁵ has the same position in the verse. Statius (*Theb.* ix. 571) and Silius (xiii. 329) agree in the use of *Tegeatis*, and both felt the metrical charm of *Thermodontiacus* (*Theb.* xii. 164; *Silv.* i. 6, 56; Silius ii. 80), although Ovid had used it before them (*Met.* xii. 611). Flaccus (ii. 34) and Silius (xv. 214) have *Hyperionius* with a like association, while Statius has it with Phaethon in xii. 413 and [iv. 716]. Neither Statius nor Silius shows a preference for either *Bistonius* or *Odrysus*, but Flaccus (i. 470) uses the latter with Orpheus while Silius (xi. 473) has *Bistonius vates* instead. Flaccus (iv. 467) mentions *Odrysiae . . . orae*, for which Silius (xi. 453) has *Bistoniis . . . oris*.

Vergil (*Aen.* iv. 367), *Caucasus, Hyrcanaeque . . . tigres*, fixed the poetical picture of the Far East, and Statius (vi. 598) and Silius (v.

¹ Lucan iv. 612; Flaccus i. 34; Silius iii. 33.

² Lucan ii. 716; Martial vii. 19. 3; Statius *Theb.* xi. 438.

³ Flaccus i. 422, viii. 378; Statius *Achil.* i. 65; Flac. v. 435; Lucan ii. 715; Silius xi. 469.

⁴ Flaccus iv. 631; Silius iv. 776; Lucan vii. 482; Silius ii. 73.

⁵ Statius *Theb.* vi. 557; xii. 131; *Silv.* ii. 2. 68; Sil. xiv. 314; see also Ithacesia Statius *Achil.* i. 558; Sil. viii. 539.

280) present the same view, although it was outside of their sphere. The former (viii. 572) has a slight variation, *sic Hyrcana leo Caspius umbra*, as also Silius (xv. 81), *Caucasiae . . . tigres*. Vergil (*Ecl.* x. 59) has *spicula* with *Cydonia*, and *Aen.* xi. 773 with *Gortynia*. Silius (ii. 90; v. 447) has the latter term, but the occurrences of *Cydonius* are more noticeable. Four lines will be quoted showing carefulness not only in the selection of words, but also in their phonetic value. These are *Theb.* iv. 269: *Sil.* x. 260; *Theb.* vii. 339: *Sil.* ii. 109:

Terga Cydonea corytos harundine pulsat:
Ecce, Cydonea violatus harundine plantam;
Cura: Cydoneas anteibunt gaesa sagittas:
Crebra Cydoneo fundebat spicula cornu.

Several changes are rung on *Paraetoni*.¹ Both *Tirynthius* and *Herculeus* are not uncommonly used, the simile (*Theb.* viii. 749-50) apparently being the suggestion for Silius (xvii. 650), just as *Theb.* iv. 297, *et Herculeo vulgatos robore montes*, is for Silius *Herculea prostratos mole gigantas* (xii. 143).

A list of considerable length shows that these writers recognized the metrical availability of names used by others, and applied them to different objects. As illustrations we cite *Hebrus*, which in Flaccus is a river, a Cyzicene, and a Scythian; in Statius, a river and a Theban. For these same writers *Crenaeus* is a Cyzicene: a Lemnian; *Iphinoe* a Lemnian; *Ephinous* a Theban. There is the same usage in Silius compared with Statius. *Aconteus* is a Spaniard: an Argive; *Chromis* is a Saguntine: a Theban; *Lycormas* is a Saguntine: a river.

The usage with one common noun will be given. Vergil has *tenera lanugine mala* (*Ecl.* ii. 51) and, to express the down of youth, *flaventem prima lanugine malas* (*Aen.* x. 324). Ovid begins to associate with *malae* in *Met.* xiii. 754,

Signarat dubia teneras lanugine malas,

and Martial (ii. 61. 1) changes the verb to *vernarent*. Lucan (x. 135) has *fuscante lanugine malas*, while Statius (*Silv.* iii. 4. 65) has a different association:

. . . prima genas lanugo nitentes
Carperet et pulchrae fuscaret gratia formae.

¹ Lucan iii. 295; x. 9; *Theb.* v. 12; Silius iii. 225; v. 356; Martial x. 26. 1.

Silius (vii. 691) has *prima . . . lanugine* with *sparsus*, and (xvi. 468) with *aspersus*. Statius (*Achil.* i. 160) has both *prima* and *nova* differently associated:

Needum prima nova lanugine vertitur aetas.

Elsewhere the statements are different, *crescunt lanugine malae* (*Theb.* vii. 655) and *mutatae rosea lanugine malae* (*ibid.* ix. 703).

Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 22. 1) reports the words of Tiberius *se ut non toti rei publicae parem*. Statius works this into a line (*Theb.* viii. 285),

Seque oneri negat esse parem cogique meretur,

and Flaccus (i. 110) had previously used the expression *sed dextra nondum | Par oneri*. Two other lines, from a long list, will sufficiently illustrate the relation of Flaccus (vi. 752) and Statius (*Theb.* viii. 83):

Nox simul astriferas profert optabilis umbras:
Torquet et astriferos inclinat Iuppiter axes.

For Statius and Silius we select *Scyllaeaque rura* (*Theb.* i. 333) and *Scyllaea . . . antra* (*Sil.* ii. 306); *soporiferae . . . tempora noctis* (*Theb.* xi. 326): *dona soporiferae noctis* (*Sil.* vii. 287).

A repeated cadence is *itque reditque* in Flaccus (i. 725; viii. 331) and Statius (i. 102; viii. 49) at the beginning of verses, and in Silius (ix. 100) at the end; cf. Martial i. 48. 2, *itque reditque lepus*. There are also variants, as Flaccus, *qua redit itque* (vii. 229), and equivalents, as Silius, *fertque refertque* (iii. 60). Following the lead of Vergil, these poets used *-que -que* freely at the end of verses. The rather free use of adjectives in *-abilis* was probably due to Vergilian influences. The *Aetna* translates the words of Heraclitus *nihil insuperabile ab igni*, and not much unlike this is *nulli superabilis hosti est* (*Lucan* viii. 370). Flaccus has both *exorabilis* and *inexorabilis* (i. 813; v. 320). The *Culex* (288) has the one; the *Georgics* (ii. 491), the other. Both Statius and Silius have similar formations at the same point in the verse.

The material presented shows that the three epic writers were acquainted with the works of one another. This is indicated not only by the form of topics presented, but also by conscious adaptations. Martial also was one of those using epic material. This is clearly shown by Flaccus (viii. 342) and *Spect.* xxvii. 7:

. . . Iungam igniferos sine carmine tauros:
Igniferos possit sine Colchide iungere tauros.

Silv. iii. 5. 16 and *Martial* x. 53. 1 show an equally close relation in *clamosi turba theatri* and *clamosi gloria Circi*.

Variation in some degree characterizes the work of all these writers in dealing with preceding work, whether it was their own or that of others. As a final illustration of the former we give the words of Statius, *Phaethonta sorores . . . lavere* (*Theb.* xii. 413 f.) and *lavant Acamanta sorores* (*ibid.* iii. 173). Flaccus (iii. 358-61) pictures the return of the birds to the northland, and Statius (*Theb.* v. 9-16) shows them not only departing, but also at home in the north. *Statio solet annua Nili*, says Flaccus, but Statius (*Theb.* xii. 514-19) brings them back again:

. . . iuvat orbe sereno
Contempsisse nives et frigora solvere Nilo.

Two elements seem to have favored this friendly borrowing. There was need of much material to carry out in many ways the balancing of items, whether they are single terms or phrases, as in Flaccus (i. 539), *undat equis, floretque viris*; or whole lines, as in Silius (iv. 317-18):

Aut illi dextros lunatis flexibus orbes,
Aut illi laevos sinuant in cornua gyros.

The other element, common to all poetry, was the unrestricted propriety, local and temporal, in illustrations. Earth, heaven, and Hades furnished actors for poets, and many acts might at the will of the writer be located in the north, east, south, and west. For this reason they all roamed at will through the entire field of illustrative material. A single illustration will be enough. Flaccus dealing with the Argonauts has (vi. 420) *Umbro venator edaci*. Statius describing conditions at Thebes brings in (iv. 744) *Libyen* and *Syenen*. Silius (xiv. 189) writing of operations in Sicily locates the swan on the Eridanus and Cayster, and ends with *et pedibus tacitas eremigat undas*, changing Vergil's verb (x. 227) *tacitis subremigat undis*. A like ethical attitude is shown by their use of geographical data, historical explanations, and little pieces of Roman coloring belonging to a generation later than the epic panorama. The mention by Flaccus of the Alps (vi. 393), the Padus (viii. 90), and a Tyrrhene captain (vii. 83) is suited to a Roman audience. Statius has the same view in referring to the Balearic sling (*Theb.* x. 587), the Lucanian spear (*ibid.* viii. 532), and the flight of the Parthian (vi. 597). Some historical data are for the same purpose, as

the mention of Marathon (*ibid.* xii. 617), and of Munda by Silius (iii. 400) and Thapsus (iii. 261).

A consideration of the extent to which these poets drew material from other sources lies outside the limits of this paper. The words of Statius (xii. 481), *nulli concessa potentum | Ara deum*, in a description of the altar of Clementia, were evidently suggested by those of Seneca (*De Clem.* i. i. 5), *nulli adhuc principum concessam concupisti innocentiam*. Also the lines of the latter (*HF* 528-29),

O fortuna viris invida fortibus
Quam non aequa bona praemia dividis,

are adapted to the hexameter (*Theb.* x. 384),

Invida fata piis et fors ingentibus ausis
Rara comes.

Cicero's definition of a well-balanced spirit (*De Am.* xiii. 47), *laetari bonis rebus et dolere contrariis*, can safely be taken as the basis of the reverse in *Theb.* ii. 18:

Insultare malis rebusque aegrescere laetis.

We feel sure that when Silius wrote (xii. 230 f.)

. . . qui miro candoris honore
Lucet in aure lapis, rubris advectus undis,

he had in mind the conditions as set forth by Seneca (*Dial.* iv. 17. 2) and Petronius (67). When Flaccus stated (vii. 430) *degenerem nec me tu prima videbis*, he may have had in view the words of Agrippina, *neque degenerem ad pericula* (*Tac. Ann.* i. 40. 4); or both may have been derived from the words of Dido (*Aen.* iv. 13). But however this may be, we have presented enough to show that each of the poets drew material freely from the works of his contemporaries as well as predecessors, and adapted it to suit his own poetical tastes.

MEDIAEVAL LATIN VOCABULARY, USAGE, AND STYLE:
AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE *PHILOBIBLON* (1345)
OF RICHARD DE BURY

BY CHARLES CHRISTOPHER MIEROW

RICHARD DE BURY says in the opening chapter of his charming treatise on the love of books, "Omnem mundi gloriam operiret oblivio, nisi Deus mortalibus librorum remedia providisset." Moreover, in books is to be found "the desirable treasure of wisdom and knowledge, which all men covet by an instinct of nature," and which, as the same author is convinced, "infinitely surpasses all the riches of the world."¹ It is therefore a cause for general rejoicing that what was but recently *sapientia absconsa et thesaurus invisus*² to the classical Latinist is rapidly becoming both accessible and acceptable to scholars; the treasures of mediaeval Latin are once more being revealed and appreciated. Indeed, it might almost be said of those whose knowledge of Latin is confined to the works of classical antiquity: "When they have but tasted of the great stream they think they have drained it to the bottom, whereas their throats are hardly wet!"³ For the stream of the later Latin is undeniably vast—whether measured by volumes, by authors, or even by centuries.

Richard d'Aungervile, surnamed De Bury (1287–1345), designated Bishop of Durham by King Edward III in 1333, wrote in 1344–45, at the close of a lifetime devoted to the king's service, his essay on *The Love of Books*. His reasons for writing, as he himself informs us in the Prologue of the work, were two in number: to justify in the eyes of others his ecstatic love of books, and to make clear his charitable purpose in collecting a library which was to be made available for the use of needy scholars. The concluding chapters of the book contain his will, wherein he bequeaths to "N. Hall"—the yet unfounded Durham College of Oxford University—his notable collection of books, and pre-

¹ The English renderings quoted in this article are from the notable translation by Dean A. F. West (New York, 1889), prepared as part of his three-volume edition of the *Philobiblon* published under the auspices of the Grolier Club. The present reference is to p. 17 of his English version.

² *Philobiblon*, Cap. I (West, I, 19).

³ Cap. IX (*ibid.*, II, 85).

scribes certain definite rules and regulations for the future use of this library.¹ In the earlier sections of his work he complains of the terrible injuries suffered by books from the clergy and from war;² points out that the clergy need books especially and are therefore especially bound to love them,³ and indicates the duties of the clergy in the care of books.⁴ His charitable intentions in collecting a library are set forth in the chapter⁵ immediately preceding the account of his plan for distributing the books to all students for their use—a reply to his detractors whose revilings “moved us no more than the barking of little dogs.”⁶ But the undying charm of the book consists in those passages in which he speaks of the manifold (and, indeed, unusual) opportunities which he has had for gathering a multitude of books;⁷ of his estimate of the benefits of the love of books;⁸ of the inestimable value of books;⁹ and of his own love and care for books—especially for books of the liberal arts.¹⁰ It is in this connection that the author seeks particularly to justify the reading of the classical poets.¹¹

As might, of course, be expected, Richard de Bury has read widely and his book contains many a quotation and literary reminiscence. He cites the Vulgate version of the Bible most frequently of all. The *Philobiblon* contains 350 or more scraps from over 50 books of the Bible, and the sum total of these quotations amounts to some 1,300 words, or approximately one-fourteenth of the *Philobiblon* itself.¹² Richard de Bury also quotes Aristotle in Latin, is familiar with the ancient Latin classics (Horace, Ovid, Martial, Suetonius, Seneca), cites the Church Fathers—notably Augustine and Jerome—and John of Salisbury. Boethius, too, holds a high place in his esteem. For ancient history he uses Aulus Gellius and Valerius Maximus as authorities.¹³ We cannot but feel that the love of books was a subject truly dear to his heart.

¹ Cap. XIX-XX.

⁷ Cap. VIII.

² Cap. IV-VII.

⁸ Cap. XV.

³ Cap. XIV.

⁹ Cap. I-III.

⁴ Cap. XVI-XVII.

¹⁰ Cap. IX-XIII.

⁵ Cap. XVIII.

¹¹ Cap. XIII.

⁶ West, II, 132.

¹² So West, III, 136-52, who has made a careful collection of all indisputable traces of the Vulgate.

¹³ See *ibid.*, pp. 29-31.

Forty-three manuscripts of the *Philobiblon* are known and of this number 35 are now accessible: 22 in England and 13 on the continent. Eight are lost.¹ There were twelve printed editions earlier than that by Dean West (in the years from 1473 to 1888) and one—by E. C. Thomas—that appeared in the same year with his.² West has the distinction of having for the first time presented a sound text of this important work and with it a clear, exact, and beautiful English rendering. His volume of *Introductory Matter and Notes* renders his service to the memory of De Bury complete.

The author of the present paper realizes to the full how presumptuous it may appear to write anything further on a subject so adequately and, indeed, definitively dealt with by his first guide into the pleasant paths of the later Latin writers. It will be remembered, however, that this essay makes no profession of adding anything to the subject of Richard de Bury and his work. It is merely an attempt to make use of it as a suitable introduction to mediaeval Latin Literature in general.

Perhaps the first impression made upon the classical scholar by a typical piece of mediaeval Latin writing is a deceptive appearance of simplicity. Indeed, the words often seem more like English than Latin. Of course, much of the Latin of this later period is easy, but there are pitfalls. When we read "*nec est haec facultas inter scientias recensenda, quam licet geologiam appropriato vocabulo nominare,*" the words are all apparently so familiar that we note with something of a shock that *geologia* does not here refer to the science which we designate by this familiar term, but is a word coined by De Bury to designate law, "the science of earthly things," in contrast with *theologia*.³ We realize at once the truth of De Bury's statement: "*Ignorantia quidem solius vocabuli praegrandis sententiae impedit intellectum.*"⁴ Again, the phrase *orationum suffragia petitori*,⁵ reminiscent of Ciceronian oratory, of the ancient Roman exercise of the franchise, and of candidacy for office, now means "being about to ask the aid of prayers." So, too, we need to recall the background of

¹ On the MSS see *ibid.*, pp. 58-101.

² On the editions of the *Philobiblon* see *ibid.*, pp. 35-58 and 159-65.

³ Cap. XI, and West, III, 127.

⁵ Cap. XX (*ibid.*, p. 127).

⁴ Cap. XIII (West, I, 94).

Christianity in order to realize that *humanitas iuncta Deo* and *divinitas humanata* are antithetical names of Christ.¹ Many a word, familiar to the ancients in vastly different significance, has changed its meaning to meet the needs of an altered social and religious environment. Thus *canto* is used of a religious chant (Cap. X [West, p. 85]); *cardinalis* refers to an ecclesiastical dignitary (IV, 36); *concilium* means a "church council" (X, 85); *curatus* is the term we know as "curate" (VI, 48); *damno* is used in what may perhaps be called its proper, Christian sense (XX, 130); *devotus* is now "devout" (*Prologus*, p. 9); *dignitas* refers to a preferment or ecclesiastical office (IX, 80); *gentes* has become a technical term and means the Gentiles (VI, 54); *horae canonicae* are the specified "hours" of prayer (V, 43); *infula* is the bishop's miter (IX, 80); *iniquitas* means "sin" (XX, 127); *inspiro* has acquired a specific theological significance (I, 21); *lapsus* may be used as a substantive to denote one who has fallen from grace—an apostate (VI, 48); *paganus* means "pagan" (IV, 39) and *Praedicator a Domini-* can (VI, 48); *praelatus* is a bishop (X, 86) and *sacramentum* a sacrament of the church (XI, 87); *saeculum* is the term used to designate "the world" (V, 46); *sanctus* is a saint (XIX, 125); *sedes Romana* the Roman See (VIII, 65); and *temptator* the Devil (II, 25).

Likewise we find many epithets and descriptive phrases, good classical Latin terms, used in an entirely new sense since the introduction of Christianity. Consider, for example, the words *Altissimus* (*Prologus*, p. 11); *annus Domini* (XIX, 124); *arca foederis* (XVII, 117); *arca Noe* (I, 21); *Christi fidelibus* (*Prologus*, p. 9); *crucifixus* (IV, 32); *filius lucis* (XI, 87); *lapides testimonii* (I, 22); *lumen luminum* (I, 17); *pater luminum* (I, 17); *pater misericordiarum* (XX, 128); *pugil fidei* (*Prologus*, p. 12); *regnum coelorum* (III, 29); *respublica Christiana* (*Prologus*, p. 13); *sapientia Dei* (XVI, 108); *sermo divinus* (VI, 52); *Spiritus Sanctus* (XVI, 110); *spiritus Tenebrarum* (XX, 129); and *Virgo* (X, 85). It will be observed, of course, that many of these terms have their origin in the Vulgate translation of the Bible. The words themselves are familiar enough here; they are employed in their natural signification; but a new and often strikingly different connotation attaches itself to them by virtue of their use to interpret alien theological concepts.

¹ Cap. XX, and West, III, 135.

One further instance of the deceptive appearance of simplicity so often characteristic of the later Latin will suffice to illustrate the fact that it is often extremely difficult to translate properly a sentence every word of which is well known. We read, for instance: "librorum corpora, ex contrariorum commixtione compacta, suae compositionis continuum sentiunt detrimentum."¹ Such sentiments as these are not always easy to comprehend, much less to express with accuracy and precision in another tongue.

Another equally fallacious impression fostered by first acquaintance with the Latin of the Middle Ages is that it is a miserable jargon, wholly unlike the beautiful flowing periods of Ciceronian eloquence, and difficult at times to the point of absolute impossibility. Upon careful examination this effect is seen to be due occasionally to curiously involved grammatical structure, more often to intricate rhetorical elaboration, and perhaps chiefly to an exuberant new and varied vocabulary.

We do not find in Richard de Bury such mazes of syntactical intricacies as characterize, for example, the Gothic *History of Jordanes*, a sixth-century historical work as difficult to read as it is important and valuable. The reason, of course, is not far to seek. To Jordanes, himself a member of the race whose glorious history he so proudly relates, Latin was a foreign language, employed with difficulty and uncertainty. And so with many another who wrote in Latin during those centuries of transition. De Bury, on the other hand, is a finished scholar and man of letters. "Haec est sane summa totalis," he says, "quare tot grammaticorum antiquata volumina, emendatis codicibus, renovare studuimus, ut stratas regias sterneremus, quibus ad artes quascunque nostri futuri scholares incederent inoffense."² Other mediaeval writers afford many occasions for stumbling.

To be sure we find in his works the simplifications and changes which mark the Latin of the later period. Instead of the infinitive used with subject accusative in indirect discourse we frequently find a clause introduced by *quod* or *quoniam*: *recordantes, quoniam disciplinati hominis est certitudinem quaerere* (II, 23).

¹ XVI, 106-7. West translates: "the bodies of books, made of a mixture of contraries, must experience a continuous wasting of their elements."

² XII, 91.

Names of towns are used in place relations with prepositions; we find such phrases as *in Roma* (IV, 35) and *de Roma* (IV, 41).

The accusative case of the gerund occurs with an object in the accusative: *ad rependendum pro nobis suffragia* (*Capitula*, p. 15).

Verbs used transitively in classical Latin may be followed by a prepositional phrase, as *Veritas vincens super omnia* (I, 19).

The dative and ablative plural of *anima*, "soul," has the *-abus* ending: *cibus . . . famelicis animabus* (I, 21); *necnon pro animabus* (XIX, 122).

The previously defective verb *odi* is used in the present system: *cum Megarenses odirent* (IX, 78).

A periphrastic formation with the verb *exsto* and a gerundive takes the place of a more simple and straightforward form of expression: *Athenis exstitimus oriundi* (IV, 41).

The ablative of price is used in conjunction with a preposition: *libros . . . pro septuaginta duobus millibus sestertiis . . . emit* (III, 28).

These, after all, are minor changes. But if the grammar of the *Philobiblon* is relatively free from error and complexity, its style is marked by distinctly exotic qualities and embellished with all the ornament of rhetorical elegance. As West has well said: "It rolls along profuse in allegorical allusion, full of rich resonance, and with endless interior echoings between sound and sense, sometimes laborious and pompous, and never without a sort of dignity."¹ In this *De Bury* is faithful to the literary traditions of his time, but he reaches a higher plane of achievement than most of his contemporaries. Many passages in his book are touched with real beauty of expression.

The passion for euphonic utterance reveals itself in frequent instances of paronomasia and balanced words or phrases. Perhaps the most striking example in the work under consideration is a jingle in prose form (like Walt Mason's "poetical" effusions!): "*Liber Bacchus respicitur, et in ventrem traicitur nocte dieque; liber codex despicitur, et a manu reiicitur longe lateque.*"² The sense of the passage is oddly reminiscent of current strictures on modern American university life. As *De Bury* neatly summarizes it in a phrase, *Liber pater praeponitur libro patrum!*

¹ III, 33.

² V, 45.

Assonance is sought whenever possible, and occasionally the result is surprisingly happy, as in the phrase *via sine devio et vita sine termino*.¹ In the closing chapter of his book,² De Bury refers to his baptism, his exaltation to the rank of bishop, and his imminent death, by the terms *ingressus*, *progressus*, and *egressus*, and even when speaking of the life to come expresses the hope: "*ut ibi transeat fragilitas impunita ubi clemens pietas cernitur infinita*."³

A favorite form of this rhetorical device is the double association of a noun and an adjective as in the phrase⁴ *Felix studiositas et studiosa felicitas*. Again a noun and a verb, similar in sound though perhaps wholly unlike in meaning, are placed in close juxtaposition for the sake of the euphonic effect as in the sentence *librorum asseres librorum non asserimus esse partes*.⁵ Yet the balanced employment of two parasyllabic nouns partly identical in form, but at times almost ludicrously dissimilar in meaning, is one of the most effective devices, e.g., *ut tegatur tam nuditas quam ruditas intellectus*,⁶ *librorum neglector potius quam inspector*,⁷ *cantus ludentis non planctus lugentis*.⁸ In like manner verb forms with differentiating prefixes are often contrasted with each other, as in the phrases *perdidistis collata . . . respuistis oblata*,⁹ *Sacra scriptura non exponitur sed omnino seponitur . . . et supponitur*.¹⁰

These frequent plays upon words occasionally take the form of atrocious puns, as when De Bury speaks of *sol hominum Salomon*,¹¹ or states *tunc Phronesis . . . in phrenesis redigitur potestatem*,¹² or declares *Sed revera libros non libras maluimus*.¹³

De Bury's fondness for metaphor may perhaps be sufficiently indicated by calling attention to a page of his *Philobiblon*¹⁴ in which the author apostrophizes books in a notable passage beginning *Vos enim estis profundissimae sophiae fodinae*, and after identifying them figuratively with twenty-two separate and distinct scriptural concepts—the ark of Noah, the ladder of Jacob, vineyards of Engadi, burning

¹ I, 19.

² XX, 128.

³ XX, 129.

⁴ XV, 105.

⁵ II, 24.

⁶ IV, 31.

⁷ XVII, 114.

⁸ V, 45.

⁹ IV, 31.

¹⁰ VI, 50.

¹¹ III, 27.

¹² VII, 56.

¹³ VIII, 65.

¹⁴ I, 21–22.

lamps—concludes with the rather surprising statement: *et optima quaeque Scripturae libris adaptare poterimus, si loqui libeat figurate*. One is not inclined to doubt his word!

Possibly there is some significance in the fact that he employs two distinct words meaning "figuratively": the Latin term *figurate* as in the present passage (I, 22) and its Greek equivalent *typice* (I, 21). Moreover, he uses the rare word *antonomastice*, coined by Quintilian (and meaning originally the use of an epithet in place of a name, as e.g., *urbs* for *Roma*), and the yet more unusual term *anthropospathos*.¹ Richard de Bury is a past master in the use of rhetorical figures—and herein his work is typical of much of the writing of the Middle Ages. This stylistic trait is, of course, an added source of difficulty to the novice.

The chief stumbling-block, however, here as in all language study consists of the vocabulary. The nineteen thousand words which comprise the *Philobiblon* include a total of over one thousand non-classical words—without counting separate occurrences of these words. As literally hundreds of these are typical of mediaeval Latinity and are not confined to this particular book, it may be well to indicate certain large categories into which they fall.

In taking up for the first time a piece of ecclesiastical Latin—or, in fact, any Christian Latin book of the Middle Ages—the reader is impressed by the exotic appearance of a page besprinkled with proper nouns that seem incongruous to the Latin language—as indeed they are; such words as *Babel* (IV, 41); *Beseleel* (VIII, 71); *Melchisedech* (IV, 32); *Moyses* (VII, 59); *Nabuchodonosor* (XVI, 109); *Setim* (XVII, 117); *Sisara* (VIII, 71); *Syon* (VIII, 66); and *Zorobabel* (II, 24).

There are, naturally, frequent allusions to *Scriptura* (I, 21), and many of the divisions of *Sacra Biblia* (X, 86) are specifically referred to, as *Actus* (XV, 105); *Apocalypsis* (XVI, 109); *Ecclesiastes* (VIII, 62) and *Ecclesiasticus* (IV, 37); *Iacobus* (XI, 87); *Iohannes* (XVI, 108); *psalmista* (*Prologus*, p. 9); and *Sapientia* (XV, 100).

Likewise there are many common nouns having a peculiar ecclesiastical or theological significance: *anathema* (IV, 33); *angelus* (IV, 32); *apostasia* (*Prologus*, p. 12); *apostolicus* (*ibid.*, p. 13); *azymus*, "unleavened" (V, 44); *cancellus*, "chancel" (IV, 32); *canticum*, "service"

¹ *Si per anthropospathos sermo fiat* (VI, 51).

(V, 46); *catholicus* (VIII, 67); *charitas* (II, 23); *clericalis*, "priestly" (IV, 41); *coelicus*, "heavenly" (XV, 100); *elemosynarium*, "alms-bag" (XVII, 114); *evangelium*, "gospel" (VI, 53); *haeresis* (X, 85); *hierarchia* (I, 18); *holocaustum*, "a whole burnt offering" (IV, 34); *hyssopus* (VII, 59); *laicus*, "layman" (IV, 32) as opposed to *clericus*, "priest" (*Capitula*, p. 15); *litanias* (XIII, 95); *magnalia*, "mighty works," "miracles" (IV, 31); *martyr* (XIX, 125) and *martyrium* (X, 85); *monachus* (V, 45) and *monasterium* (V, 43); *orthodoxus* (X, 85); *papa*, "Pope" (I, 19); *pontificalis* (VIII, 72); *praedicatio*, "preaching" (VI, 52); *pulpitum*, "pulpit" (IV, 35); *resurrectio* (VIII, 73); *reverendus*, "reverend" (VI, 48); *spiritalis*, "spiritual" (II, 23); *superhumere*, "an ephod" (VIII, 71); *tonsura* (IV, 33).

While most of the words in the foregoing list are immediately intelligible to us, this is due not to any previous knowledge of classical Latin but rather because they form part of a common religious inheritance. Many of them, as a matter of fact, are Greek in origin if not in their present form.

Then, too, we must expect to find many new personal names—Church Fathers, Christian writers, heretical sects: *Ambrosius* (X, 84); *Arianus* (X, 85); *Augustinus* (V, 46); *Venerabilis* . . . *Beda* (XIII, 95); *Cassiodorus* (XIII, 94); *Cuthbertus*, the patron saint of Durham Cathedral (XX, 130); *Dionysius*, the Areopagite (VIII, 67); *Gregorius* (III, 29); *Hieronymus* or Jerome (X, 84); *Iosephus*, the historian of the Jewish people (XVI, 110); *Lactantius* (X, 84); *Martianus*, i.e., Capella (X, 84); *Nestorianus* (X, 85); *Origines* (XV, 100); and *Tertullianus* (XV, 104).

Richard de Bury is fully convinced of the importance of a knowledge of Greek. He says: "damnosa nimis est hodie studio Latinorum Graeci sermonis insecitia, sine quo scriptorum veterum dogmata, sive Christianorum sive gentilium nequeunt comprehendi."¹ He tells us also that he had a Greek grammar and glossary prepared for his students.² As might be expected, there are to be found in the *Philobiblon* a great many words that come from the Greek. They include such terms as *alphabetum* (XVI, 111); *analogia* (XVI, 111); *archetypus* (VII, 56); *cataclysmos* (XVI, 110); *catalogus* (XIX, 122); *endelechia* for *ἐντελέχεια*, "form" (VII, 56); *evezia* for *ἐυεξία*, "health" (XVI,

¹ X, 86.

² *Ibid.*

110); *exennia* for ξένια, "pledge," "present" (VIII, 64); *hyle*, "matter" (VII, 56); *litania* (XIII, 95); *monomachia*, "single combat" (X, 85); *mysterium* (XI, 87); *politia* (VII, 57); *praxis*, "handiwork" (XVI, 108); *prototypus* (XX, 130); *satyricus* (XVIII, 121); *synderesis* for συντήρησις, "synteresis," "the spark of conscience" (XI, 89); *theotocos*, "Mother of God" (X, 85); *zizania*, "tares" (X, 86). An interesting hybrid is the combination of the Arabic article *al* with the Greek adjective *μεγίστη* to form the word *Almagestum* (I, 19), the name commonly applied in the Middle Ages to Ptolemy's great treatise.¹ Even more unusual in appearance is the mediaeval Latin word *Tegni* (X, 83), a corruption of the Greek words Τέχνη Ἱατρική, the title of Galen's medical treatise. In somewhat similar fashion but with greater exactness Aristotle's treatise Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, or *De interpretatione*, is transliterated and becomes *Perihermenias* (IX, 80). There are several typically Greek verb formations: *auctorizo* (IX, 79); *dogmatizo* (XIII, 93); *thesaurizo*, "lay up treasure" (VIII, 70). Among the rare words to be found in the *Philobiblon* are included *hieraphilosophus*, "the most holy of philosophers" (II, 24); *archiphilosophus*, "arch-philosopher" (II, 23); *architectonicus* (as a noun), "master-builder" (IV, 39); *canonium*, "rule," the Greek diminutive κανόνιον from κανών (X, 82); *polychronitudo*, "longevity" (XVI, 110); and the hybrid *pseudoversificus*, "pseudo-poet" (IV, 40). The title of the book itself, *Philobiblon*, is loosely coined from the Greek φίλος and βιβλος. In the author's own words: "Quia vero de librorum amore principaliter disserit, placuit nobis more veterum Latinorum ipsum Graeco vocabulo Philobiblon amabiliter nuncupare."²

In a mediaeval Latin book there will be found, of course, geographical names different from those of classical antiquity and more modern in sound. Such are, for example, *Anglia*, for England (IV, 41); *Bononia*, for Bologna (IV, 41); *Francia* (VIII, 65) as well as *Gallia* (IX, 81), for France; and *Teutonia*, for Germany (VIII, 73). Other interesting geographical terms are *De Aukelande*, "at Auckland" (XX, 131); *Dunelmensis*, "of Durham" (*Prologus*, p. 9); *Oxoniensis*, "of Oxford" (XVIII, 120); *Parisiensis*, "of Paris" (VIII, 70); and *Parisius*, "at Paris" (IV, 35).

There are also personal allusions and references distinctly modern in tone, such as *regis Angliae Edwardi Tertii post conquestum* (VIII,

¹ West, III, 105.

² *Prologus*, p. 14.

63); *Iohannes Saresberiensis pertractat* (XIV, 98); *devotissimae dominae reginae Philippae* (XIX, 123); *Sarracenis, haereticis, et paganis* (IV, 39).

If we examine carefully the ordinary words frequently used in a typical mediaeval Latin treatise, like the *Philobiblon*, we shall find certain common and characteristic formations.

The inceptive formation of verbs is quite abundant: *amaresco*, "to become bitter" (I, 16); *capesco*, "to grasp" (XI, 87); *famesco*, "to hunger" (VI, 50); *insolesco*, "to become accustomed" (XVII, 113); *lutesco*, "to turn to mud" (I, 16); *tenebresco*, "to become dark" (I, 16); *vilesco*, "to become worthless" (I, 16).

There is a great variety of adverbs and adverbial phrases, such as *ab olim*, "long since" (*Prologus*, p. 14); *ad instar*, "after the manner of" (IX, 79); *ante sero*, "before it is too late" (VI, 55); *circumquaque*, "on every side" (IV, 35); *differentius*, "differently" (XV, 100); *fortuito*, "by accident" (XIX, 125); *intrinsecus*, "inwardly" (IV, 35); *intuitu*, "through a regard for" (VIII, 63); *iuxta*, "according to" (X, 82); *lineatim*, "line by line" (XVII, 115); *multotiens*, "often" (IV, 41); *nullatenus*, "in no wise" (I, 17); *proculdubio* (I, 17); *pro nunc* (II, 24); *pro semper* (IV, 39); *quatenus*, "to the end that" (*Prologus*, p. 10); *quinimo*, "nay" (*Prologus*, p. 12); *revera*, "indeed" (II, 23); *solummodo*, "only" (VI, 54); *ullatenus*, "in any respect whatever" (VII, 60).

Adverbs in *-e* are extremely common: *antonomastice* (IV, 32); *continue* (VIII, 71); *debite* (VI, 53); *devote* (XIV, 97); *diversimode* (XVIII, 121); *grate* (*Prologus*, p. 10); *gratiose* (VIII, 65); *illaese* (XVII, 112); *immediate* (XIX, 123); *indebite* (IV, 42); *individue* (XV, 102); *inoffense* (XII, 91); *logice* (II, 23); *omnifarie* (XX, 127); *omnimode* (XV, 101); *praecise* (XX, 131); *resupine* (XVII, 116); *retrograde* (*Prologus*, p. 12); *sollicite* (*ibid.*, p. 10); *typice* (I, 21); *voluptuose* (VIII, 64).

Almost equally numerous are adverbs ending in *-ter*: *apprehensibiliter* (I, 18); *consequenter* (II, 25); *enormiter* (VII, 60); *experimentaliter* (XVI, 110); *facialiter* (IX, 80); *faciliter* (VIII, 73); *finaliter* (IV, 37); *fragiliter* (IX, 79); *iugiter*, "also" (*Prologus*, p. 9); *mendaciter* (IV, 40); *moraliter* (XVIII, 118); *noviter* (VI, 47); *principaliter* (*Prologus*, p. 14); *rationaliter* (*Capitula*, p. 15); *recenter* (IV, 40); *signanter* (XVI, 106); *superficialiter* (VI, 53); *totaliter* (II, 25); *verisimiliter* (VII, 60).

A consideration of the preceding list of adverbs—all of them post-classical—is in itself a striking indication of the change which Latin

has undergone since the days of Cicero and Caesar, and serves also to emphasize the importance of special vocabularies for the use of the beginner in the field of the later Latin.

The most common adjectival endings are *-alis*, *-atus*, *-ilis* and *-ibilis*, *-ivus*, *-osus*. These usually denote "pertaining to." The following lists are typical:

Adjectives ending in *-alis*: *actualis* (II, 25); *bipedalis* (IV, 36);¹ *collateralis* (VIII, 68); *commensalis* (VIII, 68); *fontalis* (XVIII, 119); *grammaticalis* (*Capitula*, p. 15).

Adjectives in *-atus* (usually past participles): *antiquatus* (IV, 34); *appropriatus* (XI, 90); *eviratus*, "unmanly" (IX, 81); *incrassatus*, "fat" (VIII, 65); *laevigatus*, "smoothly planed" (VII, 61); *medullatus* (IV, 34); *nummatus*, "hardened by money" (XV, 101); *possessionatus* (as a noun), "a possessor" (*Capitula*, p. 15); *praecollatus* (VIII, 74); *regulatus* (XX, 126).

Adjectives (usually expressing passive qualities) in *-ilis* and *-ibilis*: *abominabilis* (VIII, 64); *agibilis*, "practicable" (*Prologus*, p. 10); *egressibilis* (VIII, 66); *fruibilis*, "joyful" (XX, 130); *impedibilis* (*Prologus*, p. 10); *impretiabilis*, "priceless" (VIII, 67); *inconsutibilis*, "without seam" (X, 86); *operabilis* (XVIII, 119); *transmutabilis* (VIII, 66).

The following adjectives in *-ivus* and *-tivus* are formed from verb stems (real or apparent) and express the action of the verb as a tendency or a quality: *activa* (as a noun), "the active life" (V, 43); *caritativus* (*Prologus*, p. 13); *comitiva* (as a noun), "company," "following" (XIX, 124); *contemplativa* (as a noun), "the contemplative life" (XIV, 97); *excitativus* (VIII, 68); *mendicativus* (VI, 52); *ostensivus* (VIII, 67); *refocillativus*, "cheering" (VI, 50).

Adjectives in *-osus*, meaning "full of": *anfractuosus*, "prolix" (IX, 75); *argumentosus*, "ingenious" (VIII, 71); *cervicosus*, "stubborn" (XVII, 113); *poenosus*, "painful" (VI, 55).

The vocabulary of mediaeval Latin contains as a notable element of its post-classical treasury of words an extremely large proportion of abstract nouns. Examples are numerous in the *Philobiblon*. Most frequent here are abstracts ending in *-tio*; other common formations are those in *-ia*, *-tia*, *-tas*, and *-tudo*.

¹ *Bestia bipedalis* is De Bury's flattering description of woman!

The following abstract nouns in *-tio* are typical: *abnegatio* (XV, 101); *adinventio* (IX, 75); *aedificatio*, "edification" (VI, 51); *intricatio* (VIII, 66); *refectio*, "eating" (XVII, 116); *regeneratio* (IV, 40); *reparatio* (XIX, 126); *retributio* (XX, 127); *surreptio*, "wile" (XVI, 107); *tabulatio*, "index" (VIII, 72); *vocatio* (VIII, 71).

The *-ia* abstracts in the *Philobiblon* all chance to be of Greek derivation: *analogia* (XVI, 111); *astronomia* (VII, 58); *ophthalmia* (IV, 38); *planimetria*, "surveying" (VII, 59); *sophia* (I, 21).

The following are characteristic abstract nouns in *-tia*: *apparentia* (XVIII, 119); *caristia*, "deariness" (III, 27); *circumstantia* (Prologus, p. 14); *evidentia* (XVIII, 119); *gratia*, "grace" (XV, 105).

Abstracts in *-tas* are frequent: *labilitas* (XIV, 98); *moralitas* (VIII, 67); *multiplicitas* (V, 45); *perspicitas* (VIII, 67); *puritas* (II, 25); *ruditas*, "rudeness" (I, 17); *studiositas* (XV, 105); *universitas* (VIII, 69); *vacuitas*, "leisure" (XVI, 110).

Abstracts in *-tudo*: *aptitudo* (XVII, 115); *certitudo* (II, 23); *dissuetudo* (XI, 89); *hebetudo* (X, 85); *polychronitudo*, "longevity" (XVI, 110).

Nouns of agency in *-tor* and *-trix* are also unusually frequent in the later Latin. The following instances from the *Philobiblon* are quite characteristic: *colligator*, "a binder" (VIII, 74); *compilator* (IV, 40); *dilector* (XIV, 96); *doctor*, "a doctor" (XIV, 97); *glossator*, "a scribbler" (XVII, 115); *illuminator* (VIII, 74); *inspector* (XVII, 114); *mensurator* (VIII, 66); *pastor*, "a minister" (VI, 48); *promotor* (IV, 30); *regratiator*, "a thanker" (Prologus, p. 10); *tractator*, "writer of a treatise" (X, 85); *transcriptor* (XVI, 107); *transformator* (IV, 40); *translator* (IV, 40); *zelator* (II, 26).

Nouns of agency in *-trix*: *captatrix*, "conqueror" (VIII, 73); *debitrix* (IX, 81); *impugnatrix*, "opposer" (VII, 60); *incentrix* (VII, 57); *largitrix* (IV, 30); *matrrix* (VII, 61); *metrix*, "a writer of verse" (XV, 101).

Other noun endings worthy of note are *-ula*, *-arius*, *-arium*, and *-orium*.

Nouns in *-ula* (diminutives): *camerula*, "compartment" (VII, 61); *cistula*, "casket" (VIII, 64); *clausula*, "clause" (IV, 42); *lucubratiuncula*, "trifling little study" (IX, 79); *schedula*, "a small leaf" (XVII, 117); *sphaerula* (I, 20); *tribula*, "a flail" (IV, 42).

Nouns in *-arius*, indicating representatives of a trade or office or employment, are frequent: *cancellarius*, "chancellor" (VIII, 63); *dextrarius*, "war-horse" (V, 45); *iustitarius*, "judge" (IV, 33); *librarius*, "bookseller" (VIII, 72); *polymitaris*, "embroiderer" (VIII, 71); *stationarius*, "stationer" (VIII, 72); *thesaurarius*, "treasurer" (VIII, 63).

Nouns in *-arium* and *-orium*: *atramentarium*, "ink-stand" (VI, 54); *donarium*, "gift" (VIII, 65); *corollarium*, "corollary" (III, 27); *promptuarium*, "storehouse" (I, 21).

A notable characteristic of the Latin of the Middle Ages is the comparatively large number of words meaning "aforesaid" or "previously mentioned." We find in frequent use *dictus* (XIX, 123); *memoratus* (IX, 78); *praefatus* (VIII, 70); *supradictus* (XIX, 124); and *tactus* (XVIII, 120).

Characteristic also of the later Latin vocabulary are the many words compounded with *prae-*, as *prae-assumptus* (IV, 33); *prae-collatus* (VIII, 74); *prae-consulo* (*Prologus*, p. 10); *prae-electus* (I, 17); *prae-figo* (XIX, 122); *prae-habitus* (X, 86); *prae-honoro* (I, 19); *prae-neglectus* (X, 82); *prae-suppono*, "to presuppose" (X, 84); *prae-tango* (VIII, 72).

It is interesting to note that even in what is distinctly Christian Latin literature references and allusions to the old mythology of Greece and Rome are extremely common. *Phaethon* (XIV, 97); *Phoebus* (XIV, 96); *Pegasus* (XV, 99); *Mercury* (XV, 99); *Neptune*, *Ceres*, and *Pluto* (XV, 103) are familiar to author and reader alike. *Alumnus Tartari* is a natural synonym for *Gehennae filium* (XV, 105), and God himself is referred to as *rector Olympi* (VII, 62).

We soon learn that Aristotle is the great idol of the learned in the Middle Ages. Richard de Bury has many honorary titles for him. He is *archiphilosophus* (II, 23); *archisophus* (VII, 56), *Aristoteles*, *Phoebus scholae* (XI, 89); *Phoebus philosophorum* (XIV, 96); *sol doctrinae* (XI, 88); and *philosophorum princeps* (XVIII, 119). Indeed, the prevalent opinion of the age would appear to be *Nec viget quicquam simile aut secundum*.

Naturally, therefore, the author's vocabulary is besprinkled with philosophical terms and titles—such words as *Categoria* (IX, 80); *endelechia* (VII, 56); *ethica* (*Prologus*, p. 10); *logice* (II, 23); *Metaphysi-*

ca (X, 83); *Peripatetici* (VIII, 66); *primordialis* (XX, 130); *prototypus* (XX, 130); *speculativus* (II, 25); *Stoici* (VIII, 66); *sylogismus* (VII, 59).

Of particular interest also are certain perversions or adaptations of Scripture which serve to indicate clearly the extent to which the mind of the writer is saturated in biblical phraseology. So, besides the use of scriptural metaphors—of which mention has already been made above¹—we find such sentiments as *aquae plurimae nequiverunt extinguere charitatem librorum* (VIII, 65) and *Nullus ergo potest libris et Mammoni deservire* (XV, 101).

I can think of no more appropriate manner in which to close this rambling article than by quoting the words of the author whose beautiful treatise we have so ruthlessly employed as the *corpus vile* for our rash experiment: "cesset iam stylus impotens infiniti negotii consummare tenorem, ne videatur aggredi temere, quod in principio fatebatur impossibile cuiquam esse" (XV, 105). For, of course, it is a hopeless task to endeavor to give in the course of one brief treatise any real conception of the manifold and varied structure and style of a literature that developed and suffered change in the course of centuries. Yet if this little paper shall succeed in stimulating in even one classical scholar a new interest in the later Latin, the author will feel that his effort has not been wholly vain. "Defuncti docere non desinunt," says De Bury, "qui sacrae scientiae epistolas scribunt."² There are many wise writers of the mediaeval period who being dead yet speak, and whose books are still awaiting that eager attention of scholars which they so richly deserve. "Quis igitur infinito thesauro librorum de quo scriba doctus profert nova et vetera, per quodcunque alterius speciei pretium limitabit?³ . . . tantum valet, quantum habes."⁴

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¹ See p. 349, n. 14.

² XVI, 109.

³ I, 19.

⁴ III, 29.

THE WOODEN HORSE

By W. F. J. KNIGHT

THE traditional story of the wooden horse of Troy is commended by no inherent probability, and cannot stand criticism. Very soon in the history of the tale the number of the heroes in the horse is said to have reached three thousand.¹ In the version of Dares there is no horse at all;² in that of Dictys there is a horse, but it appears to be solid³—an unlikely account, unless that was the intractable truth. If the horse was in fact a siege-engine, that suggestion was to be expected earlier, and less conjecturally offered, than it is found to occur;⁴ nor is it probable that it was universally misunderstood as a military contrivance of foreign invention by oriental engineers, because it is generally attributed to Epeus, a Greek eponym, and to Pallas.⁵

Again, the story in its usual form is scarcely consistent with itself. Sinon alone (as he appears in Dares)⁶ would have had better chance to succeed than with the horse—to arouse suspicion and to help little toward the opening of the gates. To the gates too much importance is given, because the entry of the horse itself breached the wall. The

¹ In the *Ilias parva* (Apollod. *Epit.* v. 14); rationalized down, e.g., by Stesichorus to twelve (*Athen.* xiii. 610).

² xli.

³ v. 11; T. W. Allen, *Homer, the Origins and Transmission*, p. 159. There seems to be a hint that Vergil had access to a tradition according to which there were not men in the horse, for some return to it, a movement tactically indefensible (*Aen.* ii. 440, 441).

⁴ Verg. *op. cit.*, ii. 46, 151; Plin. *NH* vii. 202; Paus. i. 23. 8.

⁵ The account in Verg. *op. cit.* ii seems to represent the most general version. Vergil's narrative, so far as it concerns the wooden horse, appears to stand in a close relation to the *Ilias parva* and *Iliu persis*, as the *epitomae* of Proclus and other notices (Kinkel, *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, pp. 36–52) suggest. A fuller narrative is given or implied by Q. Smyrnaeus, Tryphiodorus, and Tzetzes, who probably derived much of it from the same main sources as Vergil (whether or not Macrobius V. ii. 5 is right in saying that Peisander was Vergil's direct source). (See J. W. M. in *JRS*, XIX, 107, 108, reviewing E. Cesario, *Triphiodoro e l'Iliupersis di Virgilio*, and indorsing the view of Heinze.) The reasons that seem to justify this theory of the tradition cannot be given here. Homer's references to the wooden horse show no peculiar significance (*Od.* iv. 271 ff.; viii. 492 ff.).

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

willingness of the Trojans to admit the horse, and the hint that it might have helped not harmed them,¹ have hardly been intelligible. Still more strangely, it is suggested that the horse was about to "pry into Trojan homes, and swoop down from above on the city,"² and that actually it "came with a leap over" defense works of Troy.³

Not far beyond the limits of the incident of the horse are other anomalies. "Hector alone kept Troy safe."⁴ Yet it is incredible that he alone would have had sufficient sense to piquet the wooden horse. The behavior of the gods is not in the common interpretation clear. Pallas [Athene] is worshiped at Troy on the citadel,⁵ and she too in some sense protects Troy.⁶ Yet she inspires Epeus to build the horse,⁷ and vindictively helps it to success.⁸ Lastly Poseidon, faithful ally of Troy, guarded, from his own foundation of it,⁹ Troy's wall; but at the last he turned against his city and himself overthrew his own proud bastions.¹⁰

¹ Verg. *op. cit.* ii. 185-94.

² *Ibid.* 47: *inspectura domos uenturaque desuper urbi.*

³ *Ibid.* vi. 515, 516 (cf. *ibid.* 237):

cum fatalis equus saltu super ardua uenit
Pergama . . . ;

from Enn. *Alex.*, frag. 11:

nam maximo saltu superabit grauidus armatis equus
qui suo partu ardua perdat Pergama;

or from Aesch. *Ag.* 825 ff.:

ἵππου νεοσσός, ἀσπιδοστρόφος λέως
πήδημ' ὀρούσας ἀμφὶ Πηλεΐδων δύσιν,
ὑπερβορέων δὲ πύργων ὠμύστης λέων,

which suggests that Vergil wrongly connected Pergama with πύργος, here and perhaps elsewhere, e.g., *op. cit.*, ii. 555, 556:

prolapsa uidentem
Pergama. . . .

⁴ *Il.* vi. 403: οἷος γὰρ ἑρύτερο Ἴλιον Ἐκτωρ. Beloch (*Gr. Gesch.*, I, i, 1) actually uses the line as an example of the excessive tendency to individualize in early attempts at historiography. Cf. Verg. *op. cit.* ii. 291, 292:

si Pergama dextra
defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent.

⁵ *Il.* vi. 297; G. Mahlow, *Neue Wege durch die Griechische Sprache und Dichtung*, p. 419.

⁶ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* i. 68; Plaut. *Bacchid.* 953, etc.

⁷ *Od.* viii. 493; Eur. *Tro.* 9, 10; Verg. *op. cit.* ii. 15: 264; Procl. *Epit. Il. paru.* (Kinkel, p. 36).

⁸ Verg. *op. cit.* ii. 199 ff.: 225-33. In Tryphiodorus she is first ἐρυσίπλοος (302) and then προλιπορθος (390).

⁹ *Il.* xxi. 441 ff.; Verg. *op. cit.* ii. 625, etc.

¹⁰ Eur. *op. cit.* 4-9: 45-47; Verg. *op. cit.* ii. 610-12, etc.; Tryph. 338, 9: 568, 9.

These are some of the incongruities which make the common supposition, that the horse was a tactical ruse, untenable. That it belongs rather to a context of magic and religion than to military tactics is a natural inference from a number of strange references. The Trojans proposed to destroy the horse by methods¹ of horse sacrifice.² An ax was kept in a temple of Athene and said to be the very ax with which Epeus made the wooden horse.³ The choice of the wood with which the horse was built is referred by Servius to symbolic significance.⁴ The sacrifice of the October horse at Rome, perhaps with less confusion of thought than is generally believed, was traced to the horse of Troy.⁵ The scene of the horse's entry into the city recalls religious festivity;⁶ Cerda compared therewith the Roman ceremony of the *tensae*.⁷ The Cordax rope dance was derived in theory from the rope by which the horse was drawn through the walls.⁸ The mere construction of the horse even appears to have raised a stress and fury in the powers of the storm.⁹

It occurs therefore that the horse may have been a thing of religion or magic rather than a common device of war. A nearer definition of it is suggested by a certain insistence in the authorities upon the walls of Troy in this context¹⁰ rather than upon the defenders. Though the attackers press in mainly through the open gates,¹¹ all accounts assert

¹ *Od.* viii. 507-9; Procl. *Epit. Il. persis* (Kinkel, p. 49):

τοῖς μὲν δοκεῖ κατακρημνίσαι αὐτὸν, τοῖς δὲ καταφλέγειν.

Verg. *op. cit.* ii. 36, 37:

aut pelago Danaum insidias suspectaque dona
praecipitare iubent, subiectisue urere flammis.

² A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I, 180 n. 5 (cont. on p. 181). The Sallentini burnt horses; the Rhodians and Illyrians threw horses into the sea to Poseidon. The Trojans threw horses into the Scamander (*Il.* xxi. 131 ff.).

³ A. B. Cook, *op. cit.*, II, 625.

⁵ Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* xevii.

⁷ *Ad loc.*

⁴ Serv. *ad Verg. Aen.* ii. 16.

⁶ Verg. *op. cit.* ii. 235-39.

⁸ A. B. Cook, *JHS*, XIV, 101, 102. Vergil emphasizes both this rope (*op. cit.* ii. 235-39) and the rope by which the heroes descended (*ibid.* 262).

⁹ Verg. *op. cit.* ii. 112, 113:

praecipue cum iam trabibus contextus acernis
staret equus toto sonuerunt aethere nimbi.

The storm was religiously regarded (*ibid.* 116-19). Cf. A. B. Cook, *JHS*, XIV, 143; J. E. Harrison, *Prolegg.*, 179; and the whole mythological association of horses with the winds.

¹⁰ Verg. *op. cit.* ii. 237, 238: 241, 242d; Q. Smyrn. *Post Hom.* xii. 440, 441; xiii. 307; Tryphiod. 396, 397: 681; Tzetz. *Ante Hom.* 17-18: *Hom.* 417; Dictys v. 11, etc. In Tryphiodorus (205, 206) the necessity of a reference to a broken wall seems to have been transferred to the wall which screened the horse while it was under construction.

¹¹ Verg. *op. cit.* ii. 265-67.

that the wall itself was demolished by the Trojans to admit the horse¹—which was indeed said to have been made too large for the gates on purpose to that end.²

Commenting on the "leap" of the horse, Conington remarked that a fact had been created out of a metaphor.³ That it is preferable to argue that a metaphor has been created out of a fact, and that the horse's entry actually was a kind of leap,⁴ is made probable by what is recounted of the wall itself of Troy. The wall was built (and destroyed) by Poseidon. It was apparently instinct with divinity. It was called *ιερόν κρήδεμνον*—a phrase explained by W. R. Paton from the etymology in *κάρα* and *δεῖν*, and the original meaning for *κρήδεμνον* of "a cloth put over the mouth of a jar and sealed," as the "sacred seal of the city."⁵ Round this sacred seal of the city, according to the proposal of Paton, Hector was in fact three times dragged (not chased),⁶ to break the magic spell of the wall; but to Paton it seemed an objection to his theory, that the sacred seal of Troy never was broken, "except by the Trojans themselves, taking down the wall to admit the wooden horse." Yet in this final piercing more confirmation than denial may be shown to lie.

The "sacred seal" and the divine quality of the wall⁷ are hard to understand, if the wall was not a magic circle of some kind. If that

¹ *Ibid.* 234; Procl. *Epit. Il. paru.* (Kinkel, p. 37); Dictys v. 11 (where it is planned that there shall be no masons available to restore the wall).

Within nine lines Vergil forgets the breach; cf. *op. cit.* ii. 234 (where the walls are demolished) with *ibid.* 242, 243 (where the horse enters through the gate).

² *Ibid.* II. 185-88 (cf. 15). The Trojans thought that it was made so large that it might not enter the city at all—a very different thing.

³ *Ad Verg. Aen.* vi. 515, 516.

⁴ Cf. Verg. *op. cit.* ii. 187, *duci in moenia* (on to the walls), and *ibid.* 240, where the horse seems to go up and over part of the walls left standing. Cf. *ibid.* 237, 238.

⁵ W. R. Paton, *CR*, XXVII, 45 ff. To break the sacred ring is *ιερόν κρήδεμνον λύειν*. Cf. Q. Smyrn. *loc. cit.*

μεγάλης κρήδεμνα πόλης
λυσάμενοι λυγρόν ἵππον ἐσήγαγον.

Paton (*loc. cit.*) thought that the true meaning of the word was forgotten, but it seems to survive at least partly in Catull. *Carm.* lxiv. 368: *urbis Dardaniae Neptunia soluere uincla*. Cf. also the Homeric phrase *κατὰ κράτος δλεῖν*.

⁶ The tradition has left traces in Eur. *Andr.* 107; Verg. *op. cit.* i. 483; Q. Smyrn. *op. cit.* i. 12. 112.

⁷ The insistence on the sacredness of Troy (*Ἰλιος ἱρή*) seems to demand some such explanation. Cf. Verg. *op. cit.* ii. 241, 242:

o patria, o diuom domus Ilium et incluta bello
moenia Dardanidum!

is what it was, the story of the wooden horse becomes explicable upon the principle found in Italy, by which a wall is sacred, but a gate profane, because profane (or magically dangerous) traffic has to pass through it.¹ A reason is thus supplied for the forced breaching of the wall by the Trojans themselves, and for the apparent tactical neglect of the breach, in stories where the true intentions are forgotten; and the leap of the horse is seen to be analogous to the leap of Remus over the first wall of Rome.²

If the horse of Troy was directed against supernatural efficacy as a magical device, and not primarily against human defenders, the behavior of Poseidon becomes intelligible. Poseidon built the wall of Troy "that the city might be unbroken";³ but Sinon's purpose, "to

¹ Plut. *op. cit.* xxvii. That magic walls were known to Greeks of early or classical times is not proved; but it is suggested by Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* xxxvii. 299c; Apollod. i. 64; and Hdt. i. 84 (the magical carrying of a lion cub round Sardes to strengthen the defense). Hdt. vi. 134-36 (the mysterious guilt and fate of Miltiades in 479 B.C. after an unexplained jump over a sacred wall in Paros; perhaps a magical attempt at military success) seems explicable most easily on a theory of wall-magic. Circle magic is known east of the Aegean (A. Cameron, *CR*, XLII, 127, comparing Liv. xlv. 12 with Marco Polo [Everyman ed.], p. 359 n.).

For close and strange correspondences between the religious ideas of early Rome and of the Aegean Bronze Age see Sir A. J. Evans, *JHS*, XXI, 128-30; and for the growing tendency to allow some historicity to legends which assert arrivals in Italy from the Aegean at about sea-raid date (so that wall-magic may have been imparted between east and west) see R. Norton in *Encycl. Brit.* (1910), s.v. "Etruscans"; S. Casson, *CR*, XXVII, 153 ff.; A. Bellesort, in *Virgile* (éd. Budé) *Aen.* i-vi, *Introd.*, p. vi; P. Giles, *CAH*, II, 36, 37; J. L. Myres, *ibid.*, III, 631, 670; R. S. Conway, *ibid.*, IV, 388, 389; *New Studies of a Great Inheritance*, 140, 141; A. R. Burn, *JHS*, XLIX, 29.

Varro (*Ling. Lat.* v. 143) attributes Roman foundation ceremonies to the Etruscans, who seem to have come from Anatolia. The quaint etymology of their name as from *ῥόπος* (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* i. 26 q.v.) may suggest that they might be thought to set special importance in works of defense. On the other hand, the Roman wall sanctity is quite likely to have been inherited from the *terramara* folk; but even then a certain generality of the idea is still sufficiently probable.

² The story is an aetiology (cf. Zonaras vii. 3).

³ *Il.* xxi. 446, 447. *πόλις* may be from the same root as *πόλος* (cf. *urbs* and *orbs*).

Poseidon built Laomedon's wall not Priam's. But clearly the merit remained in Priam's wall. It may have resided in the foundations chiefly (Tryphiod. 396, 397). Or it may have been restored and maintained by a kind of *amburbium*; if so, that ceremony is probably to be identified in the "Trojan Game" (Verg. *op. cit.* v. 545-603), of which the horses and arms might reinforce the defense magically. The Trojan game is clearly to be interpreted as a kind of maze-treading (W. H. Matthews, *Mazes and Labyrinths*, pp. 156-60, esp. Figs. 133, 134, where horses are pictured on participants' shields). It is perhaps worth while to suggest that the name of "Troy" may actually be derived from some root meaning "turn"; a suggestion made long ago for the name of "Caerdroia" occurring to designate a maze in Wales (in 1858 by W. H. Mounsey; Matthews, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 93; cf. *op. cit.*, *passim*, for the persistent occurrence of the name "Troy" for mazes; the possible relation to shutting magic is obvious).

open Troy to the Achaeans,"¹ succeeded in the end. Now Poseidon is said to have "maintained the sacred seal of Thebes,"² and once he seems to claim general authority over walls.³ It is clear that he "maintained" the "sacred seal" of Troy. But at Troy in the end it was Poseidon himself who demolished his own work.⁴ Troy fell because her gods had gone.⁵ No tactical success could have achieved that. But the piercing of the magic circle might coerce the power which maintained it whole—and this, with the Trojans' own, infatuate aid, the wooden horse accomplished.

Poseidon even so did not depart and turn against Troy of his own will. To Pallas he gives the blame.⁶ Now Pallas at Troy is not identical with Athene, but rather another *pallas*.⁷ The Trojan *pallas*, visible in her palladion, kept safe the citadel of Troy, as Poseidon kept safe the wall. The wall was breached by guile, but not until the

¹ Verg. *op. cit.* ii. 60:

hoc ipsum ut strueret Troiamque aperiret Achiuis.

² Hes. *Scut.* 104, 105:

Ταύρεος ἐννοσίγαιος

ὃς Θήβης κρήδεμνον ἔχει ῥέεται τε πόληα.

Thebes was built to the music of Amphion, whose name is appropriate; perhaps Troy to the music of Apollo, whose help, to play at building operations, seems to have been usual (Callim. *Hym. Apol.* 15). Like Jericho, Troy fell to the sound of a trumpet, according to Tryphiodorus 326, 327. The long walls at Athens were demolished to the music of flutes.

³ *Il.* vii. 446–53; cf. 461–63.

⁴ Verg. *op. cit.* ii. 610–12; Tryphiod. 338–39: 396–97: 568–69: 681.

⁵ Verg. *op. cit.* ii. 351, 352:

excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis
di, quibus imperium hoc steterat.

Cf. *ibid.* 622, 623. Peculiarly impious atrocities may have been allowed at the sack because all divine sanction was thought withdrawn.

Apparently the Trojans themselves had to breach the wall. Poseidon, building Laomedon's wall, called in Acacus to help, that the wall might not be indestructible; for what a god made that even a god could not destroy (Pind. *Ol.* viii. 30–36).

⁶ Eur. *Tro.* 45–47.

⁷ *Pallas* is certainly a common noun, i.e. either *παλλὰς*, a maiden, or *πολιάς* (G. Mahlow, *loc. cit.*). *Pallas* is emphatically *πολιοῦχος*. Thus many genuine palladia were possible.

The antagonism at Athens between Poseidon and Athene may have been a rivalry between deities of wall and citadel rather than in any but aetiological relation to horses (never bred with great success in Attica) and to the olive (not apparently a natural and original attribute of Athene).

Cf. Plaut. *op. cit.* 925–1075, esp. 953–55;

Ilio tria fuisse audiui fata quae illi forent exitio:

signum ex arce si periisset; alterum etiamst Troili mors:

tertium, quom portae Phrygiae limen superum scinderetur.

Here the wall is represented by the *portae Phrygiae limen superum*, and Hector's efficacy seems to have been transferred to Troilus. Cf. Serv. *ad. Verg. Aen.* ii. 13: 241.

palladion had been stolen away.¹ Thereafter the *pallas*, perhaps at last nearer to identity with the Achaean *pallas*, helped the Achaeans to build and use the horse against Poseidon and his wall.²

Now all this would apparently not have happened if Hector had lived on. It seems that he could have saved the wall, but hardly by military sufficiency alone. It is to be suggested that his sufficiency may have been rather magical. *Hector* is by etymology "he who holds," an adjective originally. He seems to have "held" the wall of Troy, as the human counterpart of Poseidon, with a magical potency. That is why when he was killed all manner of magical manipulation was tried by the attackers.³ He "alone" had "protected Troy";⁴ but when he was dead, magical attack could succeed.⁵

The further definition of the horse of Troy is more doubtful and hard, and conjecture only can be offered.

First is the question why the image of a horse was chosen. The answer may be this: A horse was a terrible and warlike animal, symbolic of death⁶ and of war, creature of Ares.⁷ If magic infection

¹ Eur. *Rhes.* 501, 502; Verg. *op. cit.* ii. 163-68; Tzetz. *Post Hom.* 511-13 (where the design is explicit); Procl. *Epit. Il. paru.* (Kinkel, p. 36).

Servius (*ad. Verg. Aen.* ii. 244; cf. *ibid.* 16) mysteriously compares the state of the Trojans when they admitted the horse to the *oblivio* at an *euocatio*.

Pallas sent the snakes which destroyed Laocoön (Verg. *op. cit.* ii. 225-33; Q. Smyrn. *op. cit.* xii. 447 ff.).

Laocoön in Vergil is notably priest of Neptunus (*op. cit.* ii. 201, 202), but elsewhere of Apollo. But it is uncertain in what if in any form Laocoön's story is original (C. Robert, *Bild und Lied*, 192-212).

² The fall of Troy is now analogous to the fall of Veii. Both cities fell to an *euocatio* of the city's goddess and to a magical assault on the ring wall; for presumably the release of the water in the Alban Lake was meant as sympathetic magic, the confine of the lake being thought in magical sympathy with the wall of Veii (Liv. v. 15: *antequam id fieret, deos moenia Veientium deserturos non esse*; cf. the precaution lest the water should flow out by a normal channel, which would correspond magically with the gates [*loc. cit.*]).

³ W. R. Paton, *op. cit.*, xxvi, 1-4.

⁴ Cf. the parallelism between *Il.* vi. 403 (adapted by Tzetz. *Hom.* 417 to admit the adjective *ἀγλαόπυργον*) and Hes. *Scut.* 104, 105.

⁵ It may be worth while to suggest that Hector contained the "soul" of the city, and that that was why his own name was suppressed. Cf. the occurrence of a *hector* at Troy and also at Thebes (where also there was a *ἑκτόν κρήδεμνον*); and Achilles' threat to eat Hector raw, possibly explicable on magical theory (cf. J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough* [Ivol. ed.], pp. 667, 670, 675: 244 ff., esp. 261, 262). Cf., however, W. R. Halliday in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*, XI, 3 ff.

⁶ Conclusively shown by L. Maltén, *Arch. Jahrb.*, XXIX, 179 ff. Cf. A. B. Cook, *JHS*, XIV, 138 ff.; J. E. Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 387, 388.

⁷ Euripides (*Rhes.* 386-88) poetically equates a horse with Ares. The horse's "breath is down on Troy." Cf. the man-eating horses of Diomedes (Eur. *Alc.* 483-98) attributive of Ares, and the possible connection between the types of Mars and a horse on Roman coins (Ridgeway, *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.* [1925]). Perhaps cf. also phrases as in Tryphiod. 174: 256.

was deduced from characteristics, a horse might have been chosen to a hostile end. Parallels may be offered, diffidently. The story of the horses of Rhesus is best interpreted as plot and counterplot to win by stealing horses a magical accession of strength.¹ Taboos on horses in Italy are possibly explicable on a theory that a horse might infect worship by hostile magic.² In Greece a taboo on horses at Delos is actually associated with an unvalled sacred city.³

Again Poseidon, in whatever sense, was "god of horses,"⁴ and he was presumably to be coerced most easily by a power having affinity to him. It was indeed a horse-power which built, protected, and finally devastated the wall of Troy.

The Trojans willingly introduced the horse within their walls,⁵ and seem to have stationed it in their citadel.⁶ The pretension that it was a "gift of Minerva"⁷ or some propitiation⁸ has not been clear. It was suggested, also obscurely, that if the horse passed into Troy through the gates, it might "guard the nation under an ancient awe";⁹ but not how, nor why.

¹ That the horses of Rhesus were magically regarded is almost demonstrated by the tradition of an oracle, preserved by Eustathius (*ad Il.* x. 435) and Servius (*ad Verg. Aen.* i. 469), and implicit in Vergil (*op. cit.* i. 469-73), that, if the horses tasted Trojan water and forage, according to Eustathius, Rhesus would be invincible, and according to Servius, Troy would not fall. Traces of this version of the story, which seems to imply that the horses, if they became assimilated to Troy, would bring an accession of magical strength to the defense, are to be seen (*pace* Conington, *ad Verg. Aen.* i. 469-73) in Euripides *Rhesus* 182: 386-88: 390-92: 448: 600-605: 613 ff.: 850 ff. For magical assimilation see esp. H. J. Rose, *The Roman Questions of Plutarch*, p. 88, with n. 87.

² H. J. Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy*, p. 113: the *flamen dialis* might not ride a horse (but with the explanation that horses were taboo from their newness, like many other things on the list; and unlike the tabooed *classis procincta*, which the *flamen dialis* might not see); Verg. *op. cit.* vii. 778-79 (the exclusion of horses from the grove of Aricia).

³ Callim. *Hym. Del.* 23-24:

κείναι μὲν πύργοισι περισκεπέσσιν ἐρυμναί,
Δῆλος δ' Ἀπολλωνί· τί δὲ στιβαρώτερον ἔρκος;

and *ibid.* 275-77:

τῷ καὶ νησάνων ἀγιοπάτῃ ἐξέτι κείρου
κλήξῃ Ἀπόλλωνος κουροτρόφος· οὐδέ σ' Ἐνύω
οὐδ' Αἰδῶς, οὐδ' Ἴπποι ἐπιστελβουσιν Ἀργος.

⁴ This Poseidon seems to have been equated by Livy with Consus at Rome, for he says (i. 9) that Romulus' Consualia were held to a Neptunus equester. Consus was propitiated at the foundation of the city according to Plutarch (*Rom.* xiv). This identification does not fit well to the known cult of Consus, and Livy and Plutarch may not be reproducing rightly the facts of Roman observance. The correspondence seems however to be worth noticing.

⁵ Verg. *op. cit.* ii. 234-39.

⁷ *Ibid.* 189.

⁹ *Ibid.* 188.

⁶ *Ibid.* 245.

⁸ *Ibid.* 17: 183, 184 (cf. *Od.* viii. 509).

It is not impossible that the horse-magic seemed indeterminate. It might be made an accession of strength to the center of resistance in the citadel, as the horse's head dug out of the ground at the Byrsa at Carthage presaged success in war.¹

The Greek name for the wooden horse may also be interpreted, and actually was interpreted by Euripides,² to mean "spear horse." Hence comes a suggestion about the object's nature. Probably it did not actually contain men but was solid. Euripides says that it contained "a hidden spear." Perhaps therefore, whether or not it contained spears, it may have been treated magically with them, to infect it with hostility against the Trojans; and perhaps if Laocoön cast his spear at it³ he was attempting to knock out of it any hostile magic which it might contain.⁴

The conclusions therefore are these:⁵ The wooden horse of Troy was a magical, not a tactical, device, intended to break the magical potency of the ring-wall of Troy, and—on another plane of thought—to reverse the protection of the deity of the wall; and its true ideology was probably from the first understood only by a few adepts, and was soon almost obliterated by rationalizing constructions.

BLOXHAM SCHOOL

¹ Verg. *op. cit.* i. 441–45.

² Eur. *Tro.* 9–14.

³ Verg. *op. cit.* ii. 50–52. But cf. Robert, *loc. cit.*

⁴ For spear-magic cf. M. Cary and A. D. Nock, *CQ*, XXI, 122; cf. ff.

⁵ These conclusions are not demonstrated; they have received a preliminary statement. They are intended as a hypothesis, reached inductively, which shall provisionally explain the facts. It has not seemed possible here to render the available evidence or argumentation in full; nor desirable to define more closely the ideology and history of the wooden horse.

THE SUBSTITUTION OF SIMPLE FOR COMPOUND VERBS AND VICE VERSA IN THE MEROVINGIAN DIPLOMATA

BY HENRY M. MARTIN

THE interchange of simple and compound verbs occurs in the charters¹ as in the works of more pretentious writers. In the absence of a rich body of material manipulated by conscious artists, the conventional explanations² should be advanced with due caution. Especially is reserve necessary in explaining the use of simple for compound verbs. An artifice of the literature, and that invoked chiefly for metrical reasons, could not be freely applied in the charters, where directness is the rule. Doubtless we might find after bringing together examples from other charters that in a number of cases the simple verb is a survival of earlier diction which, protected by the fixity of the law, did not yield. Yet the exchange could occur with no sacrifice of clarity when the verb was coupled with another of similar import. The effect might be to avoid the weight of two compound verbs in quick succession.

The conventional reasons apply more perfectly in the substitution of compound verbs for simple. Borrowing of prefixes continued throughout the life of the language. Loss of value by the simple verb, tradition, even rhythm are estimable factors now as in the Silver period. The desire, born of legitimate vanity, to appear learned and to avoid the trite, so far as the conservative nature of the law would permit, explains a few cases, while ignorance of pure diction together with unreckoning imitation of phraseology seen or heard explains

¹ Those here studied are the thirty-eight published in the facsimile edition *Les Diplômes originaux des Mérovingiens*, ed. Ph. Lauer and Ch. Samaran (Paris: Leroux, 1908), together with several found in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Diplomata Imperii*, ed. G. H. Pertz (Hannover, 1872), Tomus I, for the authenticity of which there seems good authority. References are made by page, column, and line.

² H. L. Wilson, "The Use of the Simple for the Compound Verb in Persius," *Studies in Honor of Basil L. Gildersleeve* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1902), p. 50, and "Simple for Compound Verb," *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.*, XXXI (1900), 203 and 210; F. Gabarrou, *Le Latin d'Arnobe* (Paris: Champion, 1921), pp. 67, 176; H. Goelzer, *Etude lexicographique et grammaticale de la Latinité de Saint Jérôme* (Paris: Hachette, 1884), p. 189.

more. Latin is soon to disappear as a spoken language. The Christian poets and the Church Fathers had made their contribution. The laws had been codified. The referendaries, being also clerics, were familiar with the ritual and not ignorant of the law. In all naturalness, therefore, they reflect the influence of both. Here then must be the center of confluence toward which the lines of comparison must proceed.

SIMPLE FOR COMPOUND

Fero for *aufero*.¹ *ipsi agentis . . . de potestate ipsius Magnoaldo . . . tullissent vel abstraxissent*, 19, 2, 20; *ipsa medietate de ipso telen[eu eis]dem exinde tullissit*, 22, 2, 9. Note *qualemcumque speciem de quod ibidem conlatum fuit aut erit, auferre . . . no[n d]ebeat*, 7, 1, 16; *ipsa villa de ipso monastirio nullatenus abstraatur nec auferatur*, 13, 1, 34; cf. *Omnia fert aetas, animum quoque*, Vergil *Ecl.* ix. 51; *Sola tibi fuerant sestertia, Miliche, centum, quae tulit e sacra Leda redempta via*, Mart. ii. 63. 1 and 2; *gaudia tot populis, heu, tulit una dies*, Venant. Fort. *Carmin.* iv. 10. 22; *cui praeogativam . . . hostium suorum oblocutio iam tulisset*, Ennodius *IL.* 20 (p. 51, l. 28 [ed. F. Vogell]); (*avaritia*) *plerumque plus tulit avaro quam praestat*, Zeno i. 9. 4 (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, XI, 330, l. 16).

Struo for *instruo*.² *Sed ipsi Amalricus nulla evidentem potuit tradire rationem qualiter in ac causa structus advenissit*, 16, 2, 38; cf. *uti cognoscas de quibus structus es verborum veritatem*, *Vulg. Luc.* 1:4 (cited by H. Rönisch, *loc. cit.*). Mispronounced through aphaeresis, the examples may not be legitimate. In Cicero we find *Intellegit, me ita . . . instructum in iudicium venire, ut . . . sua furta atque flagitia defixurus sim*, *Verr. Act.* i. 7; cf. with a different meaning of *struo*: *sermo autem spiritu structus est*, Tertullian *adv. Praxeam* 8 (*Opera*, ed. A. Kroymann [Leipzig: Freytag, 1906], p. 238, l. 11); *quot steriles . . . infructuosos genitalibus structi?* *De carnis resurr.* 61 (ed. cit., p. 123, l. 6); (*homo*) *si pulmonibus et arteriis structus est*, *De anima* 10 (p. 312, 23 [ed. Reifferscheid and Wissowa]).

¹ H. L. Wilson, *op. cit.* (*Transactions*), p. 214; A. Dubois, *La Latinité d'Ennodius* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1903), p. 188.

² Jeanne Vielliard, *Le Latin des Diplômes royaux et Chartes privées de l'époque mérovin-gienne* (Paris: Champion, 1927), p. 103; L. Bayard, *Le Latin de Saint Cyprien* (Paris: Hachette, 1902), pp. 118 (ult.), 355; F. Gabarron, *op. cit.*, p. 177; H. Hoppe, *Syntax und Stil des Tertullian* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903), p. 138; H. Rönisch, *Italia und Vulgata* (2d ed.; Marburg, 1875), p. 380.

COMPOUND FOR SIMPLE

Abstollo for *tollo*:¹ *possit . . . de oblatione in altario illata abstollere, Mon. Ger. Hist.*, ed. Pertz, page 17, line 23 (No. 15);² (*possit*) *de monasteriis illata abstollere, ibid.*, page 88, line 11 (No. 97).³ Cf. *abstollantur detestanda vitia, virtutes optimae nutriantur*, Maximus Taurinensis *Sermo xxviii D* (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, LVII, 588).

Adimpleo for *impleo*:⁴ (*testimoniavit*) *quod ipse homenis ipso sacramentum . . . in omnebus vise fuerunt adimplisse*, 23, 1, 27; 26, 2, 33; *eis omnemodis dare et adimplire faciat*, 16, 1, 23; cf. *quae papa poscit, adimpleam*, Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Fr.*, II, 27 (p. 88, 19 [ed. W. Arndt and B. Krusch]); *decernimus conveniri, ut legaliter convictus ea, quae promississe suggeritur, sine aliqua mora tergiversationis adimpleat*, Cassiodorus *Var. ii*. 13. 2; *omnia . . . legibus constituere et operibus adimplere desideramus*, *Codex Justin.*, i. 3. 54; *nisi ea quae placita sunt paratus est adimplere, ibid.* ii. 3. 21; *vel quod ea quae statuta sunt adimplere iuraverunt, ibid.* 55. 4. 2.

Adsum for *sum*:⁵ *adseruit quod ipsas donacionis . . . veracis aderant*, 21, 1, 22; cf. *cum de lege necis nemo solutus adest*, Venant. Fort. *Carmin.* ix. 2. 22; *cuius facies caccabus alter adest, ibid.* vi. 8. 12; *Mortemque similiter sicut uos iudicabam adesse*, Commodianus *Instruc.* i. 26. 26; *Disce Deum, stulte, qui uult te immortalem adesse, ibid.* 29. 12; *Namque fatebor enim unum me ex uobis adesse, ibid.* ii. 8. 8; *Christus adest panis*, Sedulius *Paschal. Carmin.* v. 403; *actum aderat* cited from the charters of Sens, 206, 4 by Beszard, *op. cit.*, page 78.

Consurgo for *surgo*: *ubi Dililoni rivus consurgit, Mon. Ger. Hist.*, ed. cit., page 29, lines 4 and 2 (No. 29).⁶ Cf. (*Nile*) *Medio consurgis ab*

¹ J. N. Ott, "Addenda Lexicis Latinis," *Archiv f. lat. Lexikog. und Gramm.*, II (1885), 110.

² On the authenticity of this charter see Th. Sickel, *Monumenta Germaniae historica, diplomatum imperii*, Tomus I: *Besprochen* (Berlin: Fr. Vahlen, 1873), p. 57; K. Zeumer, "Über die älteren Fränkischen Formelsammlungen," *Neues Archiv d. Gesellsch. f. ältere d. Geschichtsk.*, VI (1881), 34 and 39.

³ Cf. Sickel, *op. cit.*, p. 58; *Les Diplômes originaux*, ed. cit., Pref., p. v, n. 3.

⁴ L. Beszard, *La Langue des Formules de sens* (Paris: Champion, 1910), p. 76; Max Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours* (Paris: Hachette, 1890), pp. 228 (l. 13), 231.

⁵ J. Durel, *Commodien, Recherches sur la Doctrine, la Langue, et le Vocabulaire du poète* (Paris: Leroux, 1912), p. 161; L. Beszard, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁶ W. Levison, "Die Merowingerdiplome für Montfrierender," *Neues Archiv. d. Gesellsch. f. ältere d. Geschichtsk.*, XXXIII (1908), 758, n. 1.

aze,¹ Lucan *Phars.* x. 287; *tardusque meatu | Mincius inque novem con-*
surgens ora Timavus, Claudian *Panegy.* xxviii. 196, 197.

Convaleo for *valeo*: *unde mercis nostra apud Domino . . . debeat*
convalescere, 19, 1, 23.

Deprecor for *precor*:² (*ut . . . dilectit*) *Domini meserecordia adten-*
cius deprecare, 25, 1, 6; 26, 2, 40 and often. The language is formulaic:
deprecor, ut pro me, sicut poposci, orare adtentius procuretis, Ennodius
ccxciv. 2 (p. 282, l. 7 [ed. F. Vogel]); *domina mi, saluto et deprecor, ut*
libens . . . suggerenda cognoscas, *ibid.* xxxvi. 4 (*ed. cit.*, p. 36, l. 33).
Cf. *dispensatoremque in atrio aureos numerantem deprecatus sumus, ut*
servo remitteret poenam, Petron. *Cena Trim.* xxx. 9 (*ed. Buecheler*);
depraecans regem, ut, eiecto Cautino, ipsum Arverno iuberet institui,
Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Fr.*, IV, 15 (*ed. cit.*, p. 152, 16); *Isocrates . . .*
hanc veniam deprecatus est, Macrobi. *Sat.* vii. 1. 4.

Derelinquo for *relinquo*:³ *ubicumque . . . eorum facultatem dar[e]*
au[t] derelinquire vellibant, 10, 2, 9; *visus fuit tenuisse, vel moriens*
dereliquisse, 17, 1, 1-2. The simple verb could also stand: (*h[ol]e*) *per-*
petualiter ad possedendum relinqua[t], 6, 1, 22. Cf. *servitium fugam*
iniens dereliquit, Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Fr.*, V, 48 (*ed. cit.*, p. 239, 13);
unde si quid minus lingua pauper aperui, audientum et legentum sensi-
b[us] derelinquo, Ennodius lxxx. 108 (*ed. cit.*, p. 97, 36). The verb was
regularly used of inheritances in the law: (*is*) *cum ipso praediorum*
dominio et rebus immobilibus eorumque colonis et mancipiis ecclesiae
derelinquat, *Codex Justin.* i. 2. 14. 9; *Si quis suo testamento maximam*
quidem portionem libero derelinquat, *ibid.* iii. 28. 33.

Dinosco for *nosco* (*cognosco*): *quod ac causa sic acta vel inquesita*
fuisset denuscet [ur], 26, 1, 15; 6, 2, 29; 8, 2, 37; *praebuit testimonium*
quod ac causa . . . definita fuisset denuscutur, 16, 2, 53; cf. *quem Detta*
. . . nuscetur recipisse, 11, 1, 9; *cujus p[et]icione . . . confirmasse*
cognuscutur, 10, 1, 18; *Sic . . . nuscitur judecasse vel definisse . . .*
19, 2, 40-42. Examples seem fairly numerous in ecclesiastical and
legal Latin: (*ubi*) *uitae tempus uanum et infructuosum habuisse*

¹ See C. M. Francken's edition of the *Pharsalia* (Lyons: Sijthoff, 1896), p. 238, note on l. 287: "*Cum surgis*" Bentl. *ut nexus restitueretur, non propter verbum ipsum, quo frequenter poetae pro simplici utuntur.*

² Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 229; Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

³ Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 230; Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

dinoscuntur, Filastrius xlix (xxi). 4 (p. 26, l. 14 [ed. Marx]); *per hos sensus solus omnium animal rationale dinoscitur*, Tertullian *De an.* 17 (p. 325, l. 20 [ed. Reifferscheid]); *quia et mihi nuper imperasse dinosceris ut . . . aurium sedes lepido quolibet susurro permulceam*, Fulgentius *Myth.* i. 3 (p. 3, 14 [ed. R. Helm; Leipzig: Teubner, 1898]); *tunc ei . . . , qui pauperior esse dignoscitur*, *Codex Justin.* i. 3. 48. 5; *quantum aucta dos continere dignoscitur*, *ibid.* v. 3. 19. 1.

Exoro for oro:¹ *quo facilius congregacioni ipsi licerit pro [s]tabilitate regni . . . exorar[e . . .]*, 6, 2, 25; 7, 1, 20; (*unde congregacio . . . debiant exorare*, 17, 2, 43. Cf. *ille autem eos exorat, ut manus inponerent caeco*, Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Fr.*, II, 3 (ed. cit., p. 64, 24); *abbatem exorant, ut de cellola sua egrederetur ad consolandum eos*, *ibid.* 37 (ed. cit., p. 101, 1); *pronus et exorans supplex his vocibus infit*, Corippus *Ioh.* i. 285; *ipse . . . pro populo exorans . . . lacrimas fundebat*, *ibid.* viii. 338.

Obvenio for venio (pervenio): The referendaries applied *obvenio* to circumstances where chance was not involved: (*porcione sua*) *quem de parti generitrici sua . . . ligebus obvenire debuerat*, 12, 1, 13. As in the best period, *pervenio*, also, is common in the same connection: *dum dicerit eu quod porcione sua . . . ad eo ligebus pervenire deburat*, 26, 1, 4; cf. *et nulla reclamacio . . . ad fisco nostro . . . non perveniat*, 17, 2, 38; 21, 2, 24. Cicero² kept *obvenio* in its proper sphere. Pliny, however, was less careful, who used the verb in a general sense: *Ex hereditate, quae mihi obvenit, emi . . .*, *Ep.* iii. 6. 1; vii. 11. 6; further, Varro *De re rus.* i. 12. 2. The rare occurrence of *obvenio* in the Justinian code would seem to show that the verb did not find general acceptance: (*res*) *quae ex castrensi peculio vel aliter ad eum pervenerint . . . vel in furore obveniunt*, *Codex Justin.* v. 70. 7; *cum lucrativae facultates ex bonis curialium curiae obvenerint*, *ibid.* x. 22. 1. 3.

Relego for lego:³ *talis precepcionis . . . ostendedirunt relegendas*, 22, 1, 23; *Relictas et percursas ipsas precepcionis*, *ibid.* 24; *Et ipsa vindicione, . . . ostendedit relegenda*, 26, 1, 8. Cf. *Relegantur populis et*

¹ E. Löfstedt, *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1911), pp. 39–41; Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 231, n. 2.

² See the lexicons and in particular H. Merguet, *Lexikon zu den Reden des Cicero* (Jena: Dufft, 1877) and *Lexikon zu den phil. Schriften Cicero's* (Jena: Fischer, 1887).

³ Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 232, n. 5.

proponantur ista quae diximus, Cassiodorus *Var.* viii. 33. 8; xii. 7. 1; *Avitus ep̄s constitutiones nostras id est sacerdotum provinciae Viennensis releg. et ss.*, *Avitus Appendix* ii. 39 (p. 174, 1 [ed. R. Peiper; Berlin: Weidmanns, 1883]); *Post haec relicto testamento antestitis in praesentia Childeberthi regis ac procerum eius*, . . . Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Fr.*, V, 46 (ed. cit., p. 238, 27); *quod opus ab his perfectum ut nobis oblatum et relectum est* . . . , *Codex Justin*, i. 17. 2. 11.¹

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¹ Parallel with the idea "read" goes the new meaning of "recall"; *percenset varias, relegens celer ordine, curas*, Corippus *Ioh.* viii. 8; *qui earum relegere transacta non refugit*, Ennodius xix. 1 (ed. cit., p. 23, 3); cf. Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

DIE ALGEBRÄISCHEN PROBLEME DES P. MICH. 620

Der von Robbins veröffentlichte P. Mich. 620¹ ist für die Geschichte der Mathematik ungemein wertvoll, da er über algebraische Aufgaben und Methoden aus der Zeit vor Diophantos² berichtet, mit dem bisher unsere Kenntnis griechischer Algebra erst beginnt.³ Die 3 nur unvollständig erhaltenen Aufgaben wurden von Robbins, was Problemstellung und Lösung anlangt, ohne Zweifel richtig wiederhergestellt und interpretiert. Nur für zwei noch unbefriedigende Punkte möchte ich hier eine Aenderung vorschlagen.

Der erste Punkt betrifft die verschiedene Bedeutung des Zeichens ς . In der Aufgabe 2 und einige Male in der Aufgabe 1 kommt es als Bezeichnung für die Unbekannte (x) vor; daneben bedeutet es aber merkwürdiger Weise in der ersten Aufgabe auch "Zahl," "Grösse," "Zähleinheit" (*number, quantity*). Bei genauer Betrachtung der Formen im Original⁴ komme ich zu dem Schluss, dass es sich hier um 2 verschiedene Zeichen handelt, einmal um ein $\tilde{\varsigma}$ (als x) mit einem deutlichen Querstrich über dem ς und anderseits um ein ς , das als $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\eta$ (S. S. 323) zu lesen ist. Der Femininartikel im Text der Aufgabe 1 ist dadurch auch erklärt.⁵ Bis auf einen Fall (8x in Zeile 12) ist die Unterscheidung der beiden Zeichen genau eingehalten und auch hier kann man $\tilde{\varsigma}$ lesen; nur ist der Querstrich zu kurz und in falscher Richtung angesetzt. Man kann aber auch ein Versehen des Schreibers annehmen. Ich lese demnach die Zeilen 11–14 mit einigen kleineren Ergänzungen folgendermassen:

	ζ	$[\varsigma]\tau$	$\varsigma\tau$	$\varsigma\Theta\tau$
$\tilde{\zeta}\xi \dots\dots$	$\tilde{\zeta}\eta$	$\tilde{\zeta}\iota\epsilon\varsigma\tau$	$[\tilde{\zeta}]\lambda$	$\varsigma\chi/\tilde{\zeta}\xi[\varsigma\tau]$
$\left. \begin{matrix} A\nu \\ \rho\nu \end{matrix} \right\} \dots\dots$	$A\sigma$	$\beta\phi[v]$	$[E\rho]$	$[/\Theta\tau]$

¹ F. E. Robbins, "P. Mich. 620: A Series of Arithmetical Problems," *Class. Phil.*, XXIV (1929), 321–29. Vgl. auch: L. C. Karpinski, F. E. Robbins, "Michigan Papyrus 620: The Introduction of Algebraic Equations in Greece," *Science*, LXX (1929), 311–14.

² Robbins, *op. cit.*, S. 321.

³ Die geometrische Algebra der klassischen griechischen Mathematik kommt hier nicht in Frage.

⁴ Herr Robbins hat mir in freundlichster Weise eine vorzügliche Photographie zur Verfügung gestellt, für die ich ihm auch hier danken möchte.

⁵ Das Zeichen als $\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ zu lesen (*op. cit.*, S. 326) ist wohl nicht angängig; es wäre doch sonst wie in der 2. Aufgabe gleich μ geschrieben worden.

Das Einzige, was noch bedenklich machen kann und was auch Robbins (S. 323) veranlasst hat, bei ς nicht auch die Bedeutung $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\iota}$ in Erwägung zu ziehen, ist die Verwendung als reine Zahl, also wie $\mu\acute{o}\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, statt als Masseinheit einer Geldsumme. Schliesslich kann aber die Aufgabe ja eine Verteilung von 9900 Drachmen unter 4 Leute zum Gegenstand haben; doch auch sonst wurde wohl kein grosser Unterschied zwischen $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\iota}$ und $\mu\acute{o}\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ gemacht. Wenigstens für die früh-arabische Mathematik und die des Papyrus Akhmīm ist dies nachweisbar. Bei Muhammad b. Mūsā al-Ḥwārazmī heisst die Drachme "Dirhem,"¹ die z.B. als Geldeinheit bei den Erbteilungsaufgaben² häufig vorkommt. In manchen Fällen aber ist der Dirhem nichts anderes als eine "Zähleinheit" oder die unbenannte Zahl. So wird z. B. 1 Dirhem mit 1 Dirhem multipliziert oder $1/3 \times$ mal 1 Dirhem als $1/3 \times$ errechnet.³ Umgekehrt wird aber auch die $\mu\acute{o}\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ im Papyrus Akhmīm⁴ in Aufgaben verwendet, in denen es sich offenbar um die Geldeinheit handelt.⁵ Man wird also auch hier gegen die Verwendung von ς als $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\iota}$ nichts einwenden.

Der andere Punkt, für den ich noch eine kleine Aenderung vorschlage, betrifft die Zwischenrechnung der zweiten Aufgabe, also Kolumne 2, Z. 6–9. Hier lese ich in der 8. Zeile: $\hat{\beta}' | \hat{\mu}\beta / \beta' \hat{\mu}[\delta]$, wobei β' als "2 Teile"⁶ ein auch sonst belegtes⁷ Zeichen für den "Komplementbruch" $2/3$ ist. Der Bogen über $\hat{\beta}'$ sowie über $\hat{\delta}$ in Zeile 6, den ich über Zahlen in dieser Form nicht kenne, ist vielleicht die kursive Form für π ,⁸ wie sie im Zeichen für "Rest" ($\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\tau\iota$) oder für $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ vorkommt, und könnte dann $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ bedeuten, sodass also $\hat{\delta}$ "4 mal die erste Unbekannte" abgekürzt wiedergibt. Ferner schlage ich vor, die 4 Zeilen der Berechnung in 5 auseinander zu ziehen, da $\gamma'\hat{\mu}\delta$ (Zeile 8) tiefer zu

¹ Ueber die Bedeutungs-gleichheit von Dirhem (indisch: *rūpa, rūpaka*) und Drachme siehe Ruska, *Zur ältesten arabischen Algebra und Rechenkunst* (1917), S. 58–60. Auch aus dem "Liber augmenti et diminutionis" von Muhammad b. Mūsā (in Libri, *Histoire des sciences mathématiques en Italie*, I [1838], 305, ergibt sich die Identität: *Dirhem* = "dragme."

² Siehe hiezu: Wieleitner, "Die Erbteilungsaufgaben bei Muhammed ibn Musa Al-chwarazmī," *Zeitschr. f. math. und naturw. Unterr. aller Schulgattungen*, LIII (1922), 57–67.

³ Rosen, *The Algebra of Mohammed ben Musa* (1831), S. 38: "Fourth Problem."

⁴ Siehe Baillet, "Le papyrus mathématique d'Akhmīm," *Mém. Miss. Arch. Fr. au Caire*, IX (1892), 1–89.

⁵ Z.B. in den Aufgaben Nr. 2, 3, 4, 13 u.a.

⁶ Vgl. hiezu Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten* . . . (1916), S. 82, 91, 92, 97.

⁷ Z.B. im Londoner Papyrus CCLXVII. Hiezu: Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, II (1898), 129–41.

⁸ Z.B. im Ayer Papyrus. Hiezu: Goodspeed, "The Ayer Papyrus: A Mathematical Fragment," *Amer. Jour. Phil.*, XIX (1898), 25–39.

stehen scheint als $\beta' \mu \beta / \beta' \mu \dots$ und deshalb wohl auch erst später hingeschrieben wurde. Die ganze Anordnung ist demnach:

6.	$\zeta' \mu \beta$	$\delta \mu \beta$
7.	$\zeta \alpha$	$\zeta \delta \mu \beta$
8.		$\beta' \mu \beta / \beta' \mu [\alpha \delta]$
9.	$\gamma' \mu \delta$	
10.	$\alpha \mu \beta$	$\rho \xi \eta \mu \beta / \rho \pi$

Die Durchführung der Ausrechnung kann man folgendermassen verstehen: In der Zeile 8 wird zuerst $1/6$ der zweiten Unbekannten, die den Wert $4x + 12$ ($\delta \mu \beta$) hat, berechnet; dies gibt $2/3x + 2$ ($\beta' \mu \beta$). Da nun die 1. Unbekannte um 12 grösser ist als $1/6$ der zweiten, so muss noch 12 zu $\beta' \mu \beta$ addiert werden, was $2/3x + 14$ ergibt.¹ Man weiss jetzt also, dass $1x$ gleich $2/3x + 14$ ist. Durch das Verfahren der "Ausgleichung," das im Kopf vollzogen wird, erhält man $1/3x = 14$, was in Zeile 9 steht, und $1x = 42$ (Z. 10). Der Rest ist klar.

Es wäre der Mühe wert, die Beziehungen aufzusuchen zwischen den vorliegenden Aufgaben und der Algebra des Diophantos² sowie der ägyptischen Mathematik des mittleren Reiches, gegenüber der neben gemeinsamen Zügen auch eine deutliche Fortentwicklung zu beobachten ist; der mir zur Verfügung gestellte Raum verbietet es aber hier darauf einzugehen. Auf jeden Fall ist P. Mich. 620 ein Stück von höchstem historischen Interesse und man kann nur wünschen, dass es Robbins gelingt, durch die in Aussicht stehende Veröffentlichung weiterer mathematischer Papyri noch mehr Licht in die bisher so wenig bekannten Methoden griechischer Logistik und Algebra zu bringen.

DR. KURT VOGEL

MÜNCHEN

ALEXANDER AND THE SERPENT OF ALEXANDRIA

The evidence which I cited³ to show that the cult of Alexander at Alexandria was associated with the famous shrine of *agathos daimon* in the city has been questioned by Mr. W. W. Tarn.⁴ My chief evidence came from the Armenian translation of the *Alexander Romance*, one of the earliest forms of a document that is generally conceded to be of value for the local traditions of Alexandria. Mr. Tarn tried to show that I misunderstood one of the passages

¹ Man erwartet wieder den Bogen über β' . Doch ist wegen des folgenden μ eine Verwechselung nicht möglich; so steht auch in der letzten Zeile nur α statt $\zeta \alpha$.

² Bei Diophantos (ed. Tannery, I, S. 14) heisst die Methode, die schon in der 1. Aufgabe (*op. cit.*, S. 17) verwendet wird: ἀφελῶν τὰ ὅμοια ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων. Dies entspricht der "Ausgleichung" (*al-muḳābalah*) bei Muḥammad b. Mūsā.

³ *Class. Phil.*, 1927, pp. 162 ff.

⁴ *JHS*, 1928, pp. 214 ff.

which I used and that another one was not in the Armenian version at all.¹ It was of course desirable to have the passages checked in the original Armenian, for I had been forced in my ignorance of the language to depend on the unsatisfactory versions of Vogelreuther, as reported by Ausfeld, and of Raabe. I was fortunate in hearing through Professor Kirsopp Lake of the work which was being done on the Armenian text of the *Romance* by Professor Robert P. Blake of Harvard and his student, Mr. Joseph Skinner, the latter of whom is preparing for publication a much-needed translation of the version. To Professor Blake I am indebted for information about the original in the two passages which I discussed.

The earliest Greek form of the *Romance*, the corrupt Codex A, which is close to the Greek original of the Armenian, is now available in Kroll's text, *Historia Alexandri Magni*, Vol. I, which appeared too late for me to use it in my previous article. In chapter xxxii of Book I this codex describes how as work was begun on the city of Alexandria a great serpent appeared. It was slain by Alexander's orders and a shrine, *τίμενος . . . τοῦ ὀφθέντος ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος*, was built on the site where it was buried. From the portals of the shrine serpents made their way to the private houses already in existence. On the twenty-fifth of the month Tybi Alexander dedicated city and shrine. The doorkeepers of the houses worshiped as *ἀγαθοὶ δαίμονες* the serpents that entered their houses. Then follows the first statement which concerns us, *καὶ θυσία τελεῖται αὐτῷ τῷ ἡρωί*. The beasts of burden were garlanded and allowed to rest, and Alexander ordered that grain be given to the guardians of the houses, apparently (see the version of Julius Valerius) to provide food for the serpents. Then comes the sentence: *ὅθεν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τοῦτον τὸν νόμον φυλάττονσι παρ' Ἀλεξανδρέσσι, Τύβι κέ τὰ μὲν κτήνη στεφανοῦσθαι, θυσιάζεσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς δαίμοσι τοῖς προνοουμένοις τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ διαδόσεις τῶν ἀθρῶν ποιέσθαι*.

This account provides one reason for associating the cult of Alexander with the shrine of *agathos daimon*, namely, the fact that later Alexandrian tradition associated the shrine with the founder and celebrated as its dedication day the anniversary of Alexander's founding of the city.² It does not, however, provide evidence for any sacrifices to Alexander himself such as we should expect to have been offered to the founder on the city's anniversary. But the Armenian translation shows that another Greek version much like Codex A recorded such sacrifices. From the latter we should naturally assume that the *ἡρως* to whom sacrifices were offered was the serpent himself, but the Armenian is more explicit. Professor Blake translates the Armenian "and sacrifices are offered to him as to one born of a serpent (*višap*)."³ In the last sentence too

¹ The second objection he has since withdrawn. See *ibid.*, 1929, p. 81.

² This was pointed out by Ganschinietz, *R.E. Suppl.*, III, 51.

³ "The word *višap* (2d. *vešapa*)," writes Professor Blake, "is properly not *δφεις* but rather *δρακῶν* (see Hübschmann, *Arm. Gram.*, s.v. *višap*); it is also used of large reptilian creatures."

the Armenian has an addition, another phrase that comes between those describing the garlanding of the beasts and the sacrifice to the good demons. Ausfeld rendered it "dem gotterzeugten zu opfern," and Professor Blake translates "and to offer sacrifices to the god-born."¹

Thus Ausfeld's readings on which I depended are substantiated. It can hardly be doubted that the passages refer to Alexander. They occur in the *Romance* soon after the account of the coming of the serpent to Olympias—Nektanebus's symbol of the god Ammon. An allusion to one born of a serpent or a god would naturally suggest the detailed story of Alexander's birth which had just been told.

Like the serpent at Anchises' tomb (*Aen.* v. 95-96), the serpent of Alexandria was both a *genius loci* and a spirit of a hero. Alexander was not the only hero who was identified with the serpent. His successors apparently shared the association with the god. For the Ptolemies there is to be sure no evidence, but for Roman emperors there is. Nero is called Νεὸς ἀγαθὸς δαίμων on coins of Alexandria on which the serpent is represented, and later emperors also have the serpent on their coins.² But the lasting form of the god was the *genius loci*, the serpent who was capable of assimilating other heroes to himself. As such he was called *heros*, *agathos daimon*, or *genius*. When Mr. Tarn insists that the serpent, once Alexander, must always be called Alexander, he is applying to the essential vagueness of popular religious ideas the definiteness of his own clear-cut conceptions.³

There was apparently a similar identification of the serpent-god of the site with the spirit of the founder at Ptolemais in Upper Egypt, the center of a great cult of the first Ptolemy who founded it. The Egyptian name of the city was Psoi, and the god Psoi is the Egyptian equivalent of *agathos daimon*. It would seem that Psoi and Ptolemy, from whom Ptolemais' Greek name was formed, were identified.

Without other evidence it would be unsafe from the example of Egypt, where native cults doubtless exerted a strong influence, to conclude that other Greek cities worshiped the *daimon* of their founders and saviors.⁴ But though

¹ Professor Blake transliterates the passage: *ev zōhs matučanel astuacazinn*. He adds that confusion in the text might easily arise from the Armenian equivalents of "serpent born" and "god born." He would suggest the possibility that in the second passage as well as in the first the original reading may have been "serpent born"; such a reading would, he says, "arise from the confusion of *awdzazinn* (ἰὼ δαίμονος) from the ordinary Armenian word for serpent *awdz* (Mod. Arm. *ōdz*) and *astuacazinn* (ἰὼ θεογενεῖ) written invariably in old MSS *sub signo contrationis* *acazinn*."

² For the evidence see *Class. Phil.*, 1927, p. 168.

³ See his comments, p. 214, on Sextus Empiricus' reference to the sacrifice of a cat to the *heros* of Alexandria.

⁴ I know only one Greek document which makes provision for the cult of the *agathos daimon* of an individual, the will of Poseidonios of Halicarnassus (*Ditt. Syl.*³ 1044), which is usually dated not later than the beginning of the third century B.C. Poseidonios arranged for the union of his household and descendants into an association for cult pur-

there is, as far as I know, no conclusive proof that they did, the story of Timoleon at Syracuse does suggest such a type of worship. Timoleon set up in his house a shrine of a goddess of chance, αἰτοματία, in Syracuse, and dedicated the house which the grateful Syracusans gave him to *agathos daimon*.¹ Now αἰτοματία was a form of *tyche*, and the two divinities whom Timoleon honored because, as Plutarch says, he believed in thanking the gods and not himself for what he had done, are the forerunners of *agathe tyche* and *agathos daimon*, both of whom are prominent in the Hellenistic household cult. We do not know enough about the household cult of the fourth century to determine whether they were worshiped then, but their importance in fourth-century literature and especially in the fragments of New Comedy makes it possible that they were. It is worth noting that Timoleon is the first man known in Greek records to have been accorded a public celebration of his birthday during his lifetime. Timoleon had special reasons for the celebration of his birthday, for on it he had won his greatest victories.² The birthday was moreover the festival of the personal *daimon*. Have we here an assumption by the state of the household cult of the man which would form an analogy to the way in which the state took over the offices at the tomb of the founder or savior—offices which for the ordinary man were performed by the family?³ It is possible that we have in Timoleon's shrine of αἰτοματία and ἀγαθὸς δαίμων a clue to the nature of heroic (not divine) honors for a living hero such as the Syracusans had accorded some twenty years earlier to another savior of their city, Dion.⁴ If the Greeks were familiar with the worship of the *daimon* of their founders, their practices may have influenced the Romans who finally gave up their old colonial boards and had their colonies founded by individuals—Sulla, Caesar, Octavian. It may be that the numerous Latin dedications to the *genius* of a colony are addressed to a composite idea of the *genius* of these founders and the *genius loci*.

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poses and provided for the offering of a ram to the *agathos daimon* of himself and his wife. There is no evidence in the document for the statement of Mr. Tarn that Poseidonios was a founder of Halicarnassus. *Agathos daimon* in this inscription is roughly equivalent to *di manes* and *genius* combined. The use of *agathos daimon*, generally in the plural, for the idea in *di manes* is common in the inscriptions of Caria. See *CIG*, 2700b, c; *Athen. Mitt.*, 1890, pp. 276–77; *BCH*, 1890, p. 628. Cf. Jacobsson, *Daimon och Agathos Daimon* (Lund, 1925), p. 147.

¹ Plutarch *De se ipso citra invidiam laudando* 11. (*Mor.* 542 E): καλῶς δὲ Τιμολέων ἐν Συρακούσαις αἰτοματίας ἱδρυσάμενος ἐπὶ ταῖς πράξεσι καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀγαθῷ δαίμονι καθιερώσας. Cf. Plutarch *Timoleon* 36: ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς οἰκίας ἱερὸν ἱδρυσάμενος αἰτοματίας ἔθεν, αὐτὴν τὴν οἰκίαν ἱερῷ δαίμονι καθιέρωσεν.

² Nepos *Tim.* 5. See W. Schmidt, "Geburtstag im Altertum," *RGVV*, Vol. VII.

³ It is of course also possible that the household cult was a development from the honors to the *daimon* of the outstanding man.

⁴ Diodorus xvi. 20: ὁ μὲν δῆμος . . . τιμὰς ἀπένευμεν ἡρωικάς. Diodorus is usually very accurate in his distinctions between heroic and divine honors.

THE DIOSCURI AND THE IMPERIAL CULT

In a recent article, "Drusus, Nicknamed 'Castor,'" in *Classical Philology*, XXV (1930), 155-61, I suggested that Germanicus and the younger Drusus were closely associated, or identified, with Castor and Pollux, and that such association or identification had much to do with the nickname "Castor" which was given to the younger Drusus. Since the publication of my article I have found further evidence which should be added to that adduced previously and which proves decisively the popular identification of Germanicus and the younger Drusus with the Dioscuri.

In the *Tristia* ii. 167-68 Ovid writes:

ut faciunt tui, *sidus iuvenale*, nepotes,
per tua perque sui facta parentis eant.

The *nepotes* are Germanicus and the younger Drusus, and their designation as *sidus iuvenale* can, I believe, only refer to them as the Dioscuri, gods who, like the Caesars, were young men and patrons of the *iuvenes*; then, too, the Dioscuri had an astral form (*sidus*).¹

Again, in *Ex ponto* ii. 2. 81 ff. Ovid associates Tiberius' sons with Castor and Pollux:

Quem pia vobiscum proles comitavit euntem,
digna parente suo nominibusque datis,
fratribus adsimiles, quos proxima templa tenentis
divus ab excelsa Iulius aede videt.

The *quem* refers to Tiberius, *vobiscum* to Messalinus and Cotta Maximus, and *pia proles* to Germanicus and the younger Drusus; the *nomina* which had been given to these and of which they were worthy were, I think, "Castor" and "Pollux," for the young Caesars are like (*adsimiles*) the divine brothers (*fratribus*), the Dioscuri, whose temple stood next to that of the deified Julius. The brotherly love of the princes as suggested by their association with the Dioscuri—an association already apparently traditional for the heirs to the empire—would naturally tend to please Augustus and make the time a favorable occasion for Messalinus to petition Augustus in Ovid's behalf.

An inscription from Ephesus confirms the inference to be drawn from Tacitus *Ann.* ii. 84 and from *dupondii* of Caligula² that the twins Nero and Drusus Caesar, born to Germanicus and Livilla, were identified with the Dioscuri. The inscription mentions the appointment of a priest to celebrate the cult of the νέον Διοσκόρων Δρούσου Καίσαρος νῆων.³

¹ In my paper mentioned above (pp. 158-59) I pointed out a probable similar association of Tiberius and the elder Drusus with the Dioscuri in their astral form.

² See my article, p. 158, n. 3, and p. 160.

³ J. Keil, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos," *Jahresb. des Öst. Arch. Inst.*, XXIV (1929), Beiblatt, pp. 62-64 with comment on pp. 65-66. The date of the inscription is 19 or 20 A.D. See also Rostovtzeff, "L'Empereur Tibère et le Culte Impérial," *Revue historique*, CLXIII (1930), 18; a priest of the twins at Salamis in Cyprus was already known, *CIG*, 2630 = *IGR*, III, 997.

In my article (*loc. cit.*) I pointed out the existence of an identification of Tiberius and the elder Drusus with Castor and Pollux: Valerius Maximus compared the devotion of these princes to that of the divine twins; the omens reported by Dio at Drusus' death—two young men riding through the camp and stars proceeding through the sky—pointed to the identification; such was also true of Tiberius' dedication of the temple of Concord as *aedes Concordiae Augustae* and of the rebuilding and dedication of the temple of the Dioscuri, both temples inscribed with the names of Tiberius and his brother. In connection with the dedication of the temple of Castor and Pollux, Ovid identified or closely associated the princes (*fratres de gente deorum*) with the heavenly twins (*Ledaïs deis . . . fratribus deis*).

In the *Consolatio ad Liviam* the same association appears to have been in Ovid's mind when he wrote, after naming the honors of the deceased elder Drusus:

Adice Ledaeos, concordia sidera, fratres
Templaque Romano conspicienda foro.¹

The conception of Tiberius and his brother as earthly counterparts of the Dioscuri is marked.

Once again Ovid may be representing the elder Drusus as one of the sons of Leda in astral form. Drusus' death was presaged by mighty portents. Lucifer left his path, was seen by none, and the day came with no star going before it. The significance of the portent was this:

*Sideris hoc obitum terris instare monebat
Et mergi Stygia nobile lumen aqua.*²

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THE ALLEGED FALLACY IN PLATO *LYSIS* 220 E

φίλον γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀνεφάνη ὃν ἐχθροῦ ἔνεκα.

Many critics and especially Grote³ have thought that there is a fallacy here consisting in the substitution of *ἔνεκα* c. genitive for *διὰ* c. accusative in spite of the fact that Plato had himself carefully distinguished them in 218 E 3. There is, I think, on a survey of the whole context, no fallacy that

¹ Ll. 283–84. The reference is evidently to the temple to the Dioscuri which Drusus had evidently planned to rebuild but which was not yet finished and dedicated, for Ovid presently continues:

"Nec sua conspiciet (miserum me) munera Drusus
Nec sua prae templi nomina fronte leget.
Saepe Nero inlacrimans summissa voce loquetur
'Cur adeo fratres heu sine fratre deos?'"

² *Consolatio ad Liviam* 409–10. The *sidus* or *lumen* is clearly Drusus. Is not this conception of Drusus due to the association of him and of Tiberius with the Dioscuri, the *concordia sidera* of the same poem?

³ II (1885), 182.

affects the main argument. A close analysis is required in order to perceive this. But it is worth while because it will throw light not only on a little point of Greek usage but on two features of Plato's method or style: (1) his habit of sometimes suggesting serious philosophic or ethical problems by what seems hairsplitting dialectic, and (2) his willingness to make use of slight verbal fallacies, not really in support of his conclusion, but in order to make the statement of it more plausible or emphatic.

The serious philosophic problem is the fact that pure absolute good¹ is not really thinkable except as a metaphysical postulate or an ideal background. As the *Theaetetus*² puts it, it is impossible for evil to pass away, for it is necessary that there should be something opposite to the good. As soon as we attempt to realize absolute good concretely we are compelled to think of it in antithesis to some evil. Dante's hell and purgatory are full of matter and incident. The saints in paradise can find little to do but hearken to harps and recite beatitudes. "Plus je songe," says Anatole France, "et plus je me persuade que les planètes heureuses ne connaissent rien." This emptiness and yet indispensability of the idea of an absolute good, then, is the serious thought underlying the dialectical exercise that seems to have no object except to puzzle and chasten the too self-confident Menexenus.

Bearing this in mind, let us follow the argument and observe just where, how, and why the fallacy, or rather the appearance of fallacy, enters into it. A friend must be a friend to somebody—and *ἐνεκά του καὶ διὰ τι* (218 D). Plato intends to distinguish *ἐνεκά του* and *διὰ τι* as the argument proceeds (218 E 4).

But it is quite possible that Socrates is willing to let the interlocutor take them as synonyms here at first. Thucydides seems to confuse them in viii. 76. 6, *βούλημα χρηστόν, ὅπερ ἐνεκά πόλις στρατοπέδων κρατεῖ*, where *ὅπερ ἐνεκά* surely is a virtual equivalent of either *ᾧ* or *δι' ὃ*, and practically means "whereby" or "owing to which." There is a similar confusion in the use of *ὑπέρ* in Aeschylus *Septem* 117 *δουλοσύνας ὑπέρ*. However that may be, Menexenus doesn't understand and Socrates explains. The sick man loves or is a friend of the physician owing to disease, *διὰ νόσον*, and *ἐνεκά ὑγιείας* (218 E 4), for the sake of health, and generalizing, that which is neither good nor bad,³ is a friend of the good owing to the bad and for the sake of the good (219 B). That is, the friend is a friend of the good owing to or because of the hated or inimical (219 B, *διὰ τὸ ἐχθρόν*).

But (219 C) to return to our example, health in turn is loved or is friendly for the sake of something loved or friendly. But this reference to a higher good or friendly cannot go on indefinitely. An infinite series is impossible, and Plato's *ἀνάγκη ἀπειπᾶν* (219 C) is the equivalent of Aristotle's *ἀνάγκη δὴ στήναι* (*Met.* 1070 A 4). We must come to a *πρῶτον φίλον* for the sake of which, *ὃ*

¹ The *πρῶτον φίλον* is obviously identical with the good as Plato himself virtually says (219 A-B, 220 BCD; cf. *Symp.* 205 D; *Gorg.* 468 BC, 499 E.).

² 176 A.

³ Cf. *Gorg.* 467 E, 468 A.

ἔνεκα, all other φίλα are loved. This is confirmed by the generalization that in all cases (219 D ff.) the real ἔνεκά του is not that which is accepted as a means to something, but that for the sake of which the means is welcome. (Cf. *Gorg.* 468 BC, 499 E).¹ The last member of such a series then cannot be loved for the sake of something farther on or higher up, for it is by supposition the end (220 B 7, 220 D 8). To emphasize the futility of the argument the apparently tautologous conclusion is explicitly drawn that the φίλον cannot be φίλον for the sake of some φίλον (220 B 6). And to make it appear that the dialectic is progressing, the suggestion is made that the ἀγαθόν is the φίλον (220 B 7), which is really tautologous, since the πρώτον φίλον is a virtual synonym of the ἀγαθόν (219 AB, *supra* n.).

Some further harmless confusion is introduced throughout by the failure to distinguish explicitly τὸ φίλον as a mere generalization of all particular φίλα from τὸ φίλον as a synonym of the πρώτον φίλον. The explicit recurrence to the good, however, brings an explicit repetition of the statement already made that we love the good because of (διὰ) the bad and as a remedy for it—a cure for a disease. But the good for its own sake ἐαυτοῦ ἔνεκα has no use (220 D 7). This apparently, but only apparently, contradicts *Rep.* 357 B. The argument goes on to identify this good with the final or ultimate φίλον (221 DE). That ultimate φίλον is now distinguished from all other φίλα. They were φίλα for the sake of some other φίλον, but the real φίλον, the ultimate φίλον, has been shown—that is, its synonym, the good, has been shown—to be φίλον ἐχθροῦ ἔνεκα. That is undoubtedly strictly speaking and in form a verbal fallacy. Strictly speaking Socrates should have said διὰ κακόν or διὰ κακοῦ παρουσίαν. That would have been sufficient for the main thought. All other φίλα are φίλα owing to evil and for the sake of some remedial good or φίλον. But the final φίλον can only be φίλον because of evil and not for the sake of anything. That would have sufficed to distinguish it from other φίλα and to restate the problem with which we began. The physician would not be loved if disease were absent. And extending this analogy by an impossible supposition, if all evil were removed the primal φίλον would have not only no οὐ ἔνεκα but no δι' ὅ. It would be a blank, an unthinkable postulate.²

Why, then, does Plato expose himself unnecessarily to the charge of fallacy by substituting ἐχθροῦ for κακοῦ and ἔνεκα for διὰ? Those who choose may say that he was himself confused. But nothing seems to me more unlikely than that the clearest reasoner and most careful writer in all literature should have without knowing it muddled a distinction which he himself had made. The real explanation, I think, is that he deliberately chose to make the appearance of ἀπορία and the antithesis between the πρώτον φίλον and other φίλα as complete, as emphatic, and as symmetrical as possible. That purpose

¹ The substitution in 219 D 7 of ἔνεκα τοῦ τὸν ὄν περὶ πάντος ἡγεῖσθαι for the awkward διὰ τὸ τὸν, etc., does not affect the conclusion in 219 E.

² 221 A, ἡ γελοῖον τὸ ἐρώτημα, ὅτι ποτ' ἔσται τότε ἢ μὴ ἔσται; τίς γὰρ οἶδεν; cf. again *Theaet.* 176 A.

is indicated by the use of *μὲν γάρ*,¹ and by *πᾶν τοῖναντίον* (220 E 3). The substitution of *ἐχθρόν* was no difficulty, for it had already been treated as a synonym of *κακόν*. In the substitution of *ἐνεκα* for *διὰ* he may have quieted his logical conscience by the reflection that they are liable to confusion by careless speakers² and by the consideration that the argument didn't really depend on it, and that in any case his main dramatic purpose was to puzzle Menexenus with a complete Socratic *ἀπορία*.

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AN UNOBSERVED BIT OF SOPHOCLEAN IRONY

None of the Greek tragedians handled tragic irony with such masterly skill as Sophocles. After a careful study of the *Oedipus Rex*, where it is used with such supreme skill and effectiveness and in ways by no means obvious at first reading, one is perhaps prone to see Sophoclean irony where it is not, or at least where there is no satisfactory evidence that the poet was using it consciously.

With full realization of all this, I nevertheless venture to think that in the *Antigone* 1248-49 the poet has consciously given us a bit of deep irony, which editors and translators have apparently quite failed to grasp. In the presence of Queen Eurydice, wife of Creon, the messenger has described the death of her son Haemon over the body of his beloved. Without a word Eurydice turns and disappears into the palace. Sophocles used the same motif of speechless departure in the *Trachiniae* where Deianira, making no reply to her son's bitter reproaches, silently enters the palace and puts an end to her life. In the *Oedipus Rex*, Jocasta, convinced at last of the horrible truth, leaves the stage not quite in silence but with a promise of eternal silence, unappreciated by the excited king but clear enough to the audience. Oedipus apparently thinks that her parting threat means that, with him, proved of birth disgracefully humble, she cannot condescend to hold any further communication.

Her woman's pride

Is shamed, it may be, by my lowliness [CAMPBELL (trans.)].

In the *Trachiniae* the audience knows that Hyllus' parting words are reaching a fulfilment such as he himself does not suspect, nor—in his heart of hearts—desire.

¹ Cf. the four cases in Prodicus' speech in *Protagoras* 337 A-C.

² Cf. Rom. 11:32, "For God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all," and *δφρα* in Homer *Iliad* xxii. 328-29:

οὐδ' ἄρ' ἀπ' ἀσφάραγον μέλη τάμε χαλκοβάρεια,
δφρα τί μιν προτείποι ἀμειβόμενος ἐπέεσσιν.

In later Greek *διὰ* c. acc. is sometimes used in the final sense, and Aristotle twice uses it in one sentence in both senses. Cf. *Eth. Nic.* 1110 a 4 *διὰ φόβον* . . . ἢ *διὰ καλόν τι*, and *De gen. an.* 717 A 15.

In the *Antigone* the chorus express some concern at the manner of Eurydice's departure and the messenger admits that he too is surprised but hopes that, smitten by the dreadful tidings she has just received, she does not deign to publish her lamentation to the city,

ἀλλ' ὑπὸ στέγης ἔσω
 πένθος δμῶαίς προθήσειν ἥνθος οἰκείον στένειν,

of which the obvious and surface meaning is, as rendered by Jebb, "but in the privacy of the house will set her handmaids to mourn the household grief." To me it seems that the words are capable of a secondary and more sinister significance. In these two instances of ominous departure tragic irony hovers near, though the absolute silence of Deianira renders its expression impossible. In the passage from the *OT* the irony is well recognized. In the parallel situation in the *Antigone* the case seems to me even clearer and to have been furnished by the poet with certain guideposts, to guide the hearer to a meaning unperceived by the speaker but clear to an understanding audience: "But in there under the roof she will lay out a grief peculiarly their own for her maidens to bemoan," i.e., she will give them her own self-slain body to weep over.

This is suggested, so far as I can see, by none of the editors or translators. No editor points out any irony here and no translator imports it into his rendering. In some instances such a meaning is definitely excluded by the manner in which the words are translated. Campbell¹ has

. . . But to her maids within
 She will prescribe to mourn the loss of the house.

Whitelaw (1906) renders, "But as for private sorrow will charge her women in the house to weep." Plumptre translates, "But beneath her roof will think it best to bear her private griefs." Schneidewin and Nauck's note gives "die übliche Totenklage aufgeben."

The points involved in my interpretation are the meaning (1) of *προθήσειν* (2) of *οἰκείον*; (3) of *πένθος*, and, finally, the next line 1250, which seems to show that the messenger at least had in mind the possibility of the queen's suicide (but rejects it in words which actually prophesy it).

1. While *προτιθέναι* can doubtless mean "prescribe," "give an order," "propose as a task" (*Tr.* 1059; *Ant.* 216), it is to be remembered that it is the regular word for laying out a dead body (*Hdt.* v. 8). Euripides uses it in the middle voice in *Alc.* 644. The noun *πρόθεσις* does not seem to be used for an order or the setting of a task but is well known as the technical term for laying out.

Sophocles uses it to describe the disposal of a dead body other than formal laying out. In such cases the presence in the spectator's mind of the technical meaning produces an effect of added grimness. In *Electra* 1198 *Electra* says

¹ He observes a secondary meaning in *προθήσειν*, "to lay out for burial," but seems to refer it to the corpse of Haemon.

to Orestes, who has brought her what purport to be his own ashes, and who has asked her if she has no defender in her misery,

οὐ δῆθ' ὅς ἦν γάρ μοι σὺ προβήκας σποδόν.

[No, for he who was, you have ^(laid out) _(set) before me, in ashes.]

There is a similar suggestiveness in the words employed of the crime of Atreus (*Aj.* 1294),

προβέντ' ἀδελφῶ δέϊπνον οἰκείων τέκνων.

[He laid out the dead children in the form of a meal to their own fathers.]

The word thus interpreted adds a grimmer touch to a situation already horrible in the extreme.

2. The adjective *οἰκείος*, with direct reflexive significance, is paralleled by another passage in the *Antigone*, where the leader of the chorus asks the messenger whether Haemon died by his father's hand or πρὸς οἰκείας χερός (1176), and in *Ajax* 260 the hero is said to look at οἰκεία πάθη, μηδενὸς ἄλλου παραπράξαντος. In *OT* 1162 οἰκείον is almost equivalent to σόν (see ἐμόν in the answer [1163]). The irony is equally great, however, if πένθος οἰκείον (1249) means "a grief of their own" (cf. *Aj.* 919).

3. The word πένθος is used, as in English, to denote the object of grief in *Ajax* 616 where Ajax

φίλοις μέγα πένθος ἤρρηται.

[He has been found a heavy sorrow to his friends.]

This is applicable whether οἰκείον be rendered "her own" or "their own."

Line 1250 γνώμης γὰρ οὐκ ἄπειρος, ὥσθ' ἁμαρτάνειν has caused a lot of trouble. Jebb renders it: "She is not untaught of discretion that she should err"; Campbell, "She is too tried in judgement to do ill." This must imply in the messenger a suspicion that Eurydice might kill herself, though the scholiast took ἁμαρτάνειν to mean "bewail in public." The phrase γνώμης ἄπειρος is harsh and not easy to render. Wolff, Campbell, and Jebb take γνώμης to mean "discretion" or "good judgment." Dindorf, Meinecke, and Nauck think the verse spurious; they consider that the reply of the chorus is more apt if 1250 be omitted and, incidentally, it spoils the stichomythy of 1244-56.

I am inclined nevertheless to retain it, reinterpreting it so as to continue the irony which I find in the two preceding verses. "And she is firm enough in her purpose (if suicide is her intent) not to fail in carrying it through." For γνώμη as "resolve" I cite *Ajax* 447 f.:

καὶ μὴ τὸδ' ὄμμα καὶ φρένες διάστροφοι
γνώμης ἀπῆξαν τῆς ἐμῆς οὐκ ἂν ποτε
δίκεν κατ' ἄλλου φωτὸς ὧδ' ἐψήφισαν.

The phrase would then mean "unacquainted with intent, firm purpose," and the peculiarity and harshness which have naturally given offense might be

defended on the ground of the very attempt to secure ironic ambiguity. If 1250 be rejected the irony of 1248-49 is not shaken. If it be retained that irony is enhanced and continued.

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PLATO *SYMPOSIUM* 172 A

Καὶ παίζων ἅμα τῇ κλήσει,
ὦ Φαληρεὺς, ἔφη.

What is the jest? Bury and Hug enumerate the mostly far-fetched or impossible suggestions of many editors and translators. The two most reasonable are that the joke lies either in the formal official language or "bloss in dem Anruf mit einem launigen Ton ausgesprochen."

Does it not rather consist in treating the place from which Apollodorus is coming as his deme? So I once heard a jocose Chicago toastmaster introduce an eminent novelist as Mr. Marion Crawford of Bagdad, Constantinople, Naples, Rome, Boston, and New York.

I find no evidence that Phaleron really was Apollodorus' deme, except Plutarch *Cato* 46, where the statement may very well be derived from the *Symposium* passage.

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BOOK REVIEWS

A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome. By SAMUEL BALL PLATNER. Completed and revised by THOMAS ASHBY. Pp. xxiii+608. 56 plates and 7 text figs. Oxford University Press, 1929.

Professor Platner had almost finished this topographical dictionary in 1921. He was indeed on his way to Rome to complete the book by a few months' work there when he was taken suddenly ill and died at sea. Mr. Ashby undertook the final editing and revision, and in the volume that has now appeared we have the most useful contribution to the study of Roman topography that has appeared in the present generation.

Professor Platner long ago demonstrated his familiarity with the field by the publication of *The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome* (Allyn & Bacon, 1904; 2d ed., 1911) and by many articles on specific topographical problems, while Mr. Ashby's contributions to the subject in the *Papers of the British School in Rome*, the *Journal of Roman Studies*, and other periodicals have invariably shown a distinction of scholarship that has placed his name beside that of Hülsen and Lanciani. Both author and editor have had special training for the task represented by this volume, and they have done the work well. They have fully recognized the difficulties of the subject and commit themselves to a final decision only when the evidence is adequate. In item after item they are content to marshal the data and leave the solution to some future time when more extensive or more thorough excavations will reveal evidence of a decisive character. For while the book furnishes us with all the material now available, it will serve a still more important purpose as a basis for the Roman topography of the future. It has been compiled with so comprehensive a method, with such full recognition of the various theories advanced in regard to this or that monument, and with so little bias that topographers will find it an admirable starting-point for further investigations. All the best work that has been done in Roman topography in the last three decades has been woven by Platner into the discussions of the different sites and buildings, and in his editing Ashby has had the co-operation of Hülsen, Bagnani (who has contributed the Chronological Index to Dateable Monuments printed at the end of the volume), Lugli, Last, Strong, Van Buren, and Richmond. The limit of the area covered in the volume is roughly the Aurelian Wall.

The fact that many important problems of the Palatine and Forum are even in this latest publication on Roman topography left unsolved is due not only to the difficulty of the subject but to the circumstance that the results

of a large number of the excavations carried on during many years under the direction of the late Professor Boni have never been published. In regard to many of the topographical puzzles of these areas, therefore, Professor Platner found himself in a position analogous to that which confronted him when he published the second edition of his *Topography and Monuments* in 1911. It is good news that arrangements have been made for the publication of Boni's material and that at no distant date it will be available.

A good example of the compactness of the treatment of the vast mass of material pertaining to the subject is furnished by the account of the Atrium Vestae (pp. 58-60). The whole history of the site is told in three pages, from the early period down to the time of Constantine. A select bibliography is also given, with special mention of Miss Van Deman's *The Atrium Vestae* (Washington: The Carnegie Institution, 1909).

While many of the illustrations are good, some of them add but little to the clarification of the text. Of the seven text figures five have already appeared in the author's *Topography and Monuments*. The other two are restorations of sections of the Flavian Amphitheater, one of them being from Taylor and Cressy's *Architectural Antiquities of Rome*, and one from a restoration by Hülsen after Knapp. It is to be regretted that there are not more illustrations like these two. Plans add greatly to the value of a book the scope of which includes descriptions of buildings as well as discussion of sites, and there should be many of them. It is a great surprise to find that the only plan of Rome, as it was under the Empire, is a reproduction of the one that forms the frontispiece of the author's earlier book. Its insertion in this volume is difficult to understand in view of the fact that the sites assigned to some buildings on it are not those approved by the author in the text. For example, the map shows the Temple of Apollo on the northeast corner of the Palatine, where it was placed long ago by Hülsen, whose view Platner had accepted in the first edition of his *Topography and Monuments*, though he practically abandoned it in the second. In the discussion of the site of the temple in the present book (pp. 18, 19) he distinctly favors the theory that identifies it with the remains commonly called the Temple of Jupiter Victor. At any rate, he speaks of this site as "on the whole the most satisfactory." His acceptance of this view involves also a change in the site of the library connected with the temple, which on the map is placed north of the Hippodrome. Surely it was a curious idea on the part of the editor to illustrate a book containing the results of the most recent researches in Roman topography with a map that appeared in a volume published in 1904. Nor was it new even then, for Professor Platner, who at that time was much more under the influence of Hülsen's topographical theories than he was later, adapted it from the latter's *Romae veteris tabula*, published in Berlin in 1901. This old map in fact has long since become archaeological material itself. It ought to be put in a museum of the history of topographical research in Rome. As it is, it is forever bobbing up. It seems to be as hard to kill as some of the topographical vagaries which

it incorporates. Moreover, quite apart from its inaccuracy, its small size makes it wholly inadequate for so comprehensive a treatment of the subject as this. It should be replaced by three or four maps of the scale of those that accompany Kiepert and Hülsen's *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*. Reviewers are of course always ungrateful and ungracious, but it must be obvious to everyone that the lack of good maps of sections of the city in its full development and of plans of buildings constitutes a serious defect.

Otherwise the volume is admirable. It will be of the utmost service not only to archaeologists but to professors and students in courses in Roman history, Roman private life, Roman public life, and in reading courses in all those authors in whose writings the topographical background stands out in sharp relief.

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Die Augustus-Inscription auf dem Marktplatz von Kyrene. By JOHANNES STROUX and LEOPOLD WENGER. "Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften," XXXIV, No. 2 (Munich, 1928), 1-145.

Among the important documents of the early Empire which have recently come to light is the *stèle* inscribed in Greek which was found by the Italian excavators in the ancient forum of Cyrene and published by G. Oliverio in the *Notiziario archeologico* (Ministero delle Colonie, 1927), Fascicle IV. It has on it five edicts of the emperor Augustus, four of them issued for the province of Cyrene alone, the fifth a communication from the emperor making known to the province a senatorial decree for the whole Empire. The significance of the documents for Augustus' position as *princeps* and for the methods of jury trial in the provinces was immediately recognized, and already they have called forth a number of studies (see, for instance, Anderson in *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1927, pp. 34 ff.). Before the appearance of the edition and commentary of Stroux and Wenger, the inscriptions had been published, translated, and fully discussed by von Premerstein in the *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung, Romanische Abteilung* (1928), pages 419-531. But the problems presented by the inscriptions are so numerous that there is room for much additional discussion, and the work of the two Munich scholars has done much to evaluate the new evidence provided by the inscriptions; their contribution is especially valuable for the study of the language of the inscriptions and for the full considerations of methods of jury trial in civil and criminal cases that were instituted for the natives of Cyrene.

After an introduction by Wenger and a text and translation by Stroux there follows a detailed study of the language of the inscriptions by Stroux. This investigation shows that the edicts are written in much more idiomatic Greek with far fewer indications of having been translated than the senatorial de-

creed which, like the Greek version of the *Monumentum Ancyranum* and the republican documents studied by Viereck in his *Sermo Graecus*, betrays in its stiffness and awkwardness the fact that it is based on a Latin original. If Suetonius is right in his statement (*Aug.* 89) that Augustus did not write his Greek documents himself, but made a draft of them in Latin and had them translated by others, he must have left great freedom to the translator. There are interesting comments on a number of points, among which may be mentioned the use of *ἐπίκριμα*, regularly "decree," but here, as in Josephus *Ant.* xix. 6. 3, "edict," and the use of the abstraction *Ῥωμαϊότης* ἀπαξ εἰρημένον with which one may compare *λατινότης* (*Justinian Novel.* 78pr).

The rest of the study is concerned with the contribution of the inscription to political and legal questions of provincial history. Wenger discusses the province of Cyrene and its population, Roman rule in Cyrene, the regulations of Augustus, and the Greek juries, and Stroux considers the jury courts and the governor's power of jurisdiction and the senatorial decree providing for charges of extortion. It is noteworthy that while the edicts provide confirmation for Mommsen's belief that the emperor possessed the *imperium maius* even in senatorial provinces, they show provisions in a province for trial by jury which Mommsen did not suspect. Two new details are of especial importance—the fact that in the province as at Rome census rating was the determining factor for the eligibility of jurors and the fact that there were juries for capital offenses. Another new fact is the evidence of the third decree that the Senate sometimes had the right to confer citizenship. Wenger's comparison of the provisions of Edict 3 for juries in civil cases with Cicero's account of the *Lex Rupilia* as it was applied in Sicily and Stroux's investigation of the senatorial decree in connection with the *leges de pecuniis repetundis* deserve special mention.

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Essays and Addresses. By JOHN BURNET. New York: Macmillan Co., 1930.

The main body of the late Professor Burnet's work, his *Early Greek Philosophy*, his *Ethics of Aristotle*, his Oxford text of Plato, the admirable notes of his edition of the *Phaedo*, won him his deserved reputation and have received due recognition in *Classical Philology*.¹ The value of the work of his later years, beginning with the Introduction to the *Phaedo* and the *Greek Philosophy from Thales to Plato*, was impaired, I conjecture, by ill health, and I am sure, by his insistence on the quite impossible thesis, that Socrates was a Pythagorean student of science and that the greater part of Plato is not Plato but Socrates. His many friends, to whose number he added even when, an already broken man, he visited America to deliver the Sather Lectures, refuse to make these distinctions. Scholars who must know better discuss

¹ Cf. VIII (1913), 232-34; XXI (1926), 287.

his later theories seriously from piety and out of respect for his solid achievements. Reviewers and the general public are led to suppose that these aberrations mark a progress of science or at least an interesting new point of view and an open question.

As a believer in entire freedom of criticism in regard to the printed word I could not adopt this attitude, and therefore "killed" the review that I wrote of his Sather Lectures for this journal. But the present volume contains so much vigorously expressed good sense with which I am happy to agree that I may hope that his friends will pardon my substitution of a critical discussion of his ideas for the indiscriminating eulogy and acceptance which the prevailing tone of the reviewers leads them to expect.

The essays here collected may for convenience be classified as (1) educational, (2) miscellaneous, (3) Greek philosophy.

Professor Burnet's defense of classical studies omits the usual rhetoric of the topic. In "Form and Matter in Classical Teaching" he advises us to rest the case of the classics on the direct issue that a classical education is above all a training in form in more than one sense of the word. He refuses to be diverted by the pseudo-scientific red herring drawn across the trail by psychologists who tell the public that science has pronounced formal discipline to be a myth.

His pleas for Latin-verse composition, his satire of German-American "research," and his apparent underestimate of the matter of the classics may easily be misunderstood. But the fair-minded and discriminating reader will make allowance for rhetorical emphasis and omitted qualifications, and will enjoy the essential rightness of such sentences as: "A man who has been taught the origin of the legend of Aeneas will not read Virgil in later life; a man who has been taught to write hexameters will" (p. 32). "It is to be observed also that the people who talk most about 'research' are not those who have done any" (p. 38). "Why should we teach that the vocative of αἰδώς is αἰδοῖ when no such word existed or could exist? . . . I have inspected a class that could tell me that the perfect of βλαστάνω was βεβλάστηκα or ἐβλάστηκα. I confess that I was not aware of the fact myself, though I found when I got home that it was so. But what does it matter? (P. 42.) "It is amazing how much the young men know now about the administration of remote Roman provinces and how they can pick holes in the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία, but they don't appear to have read Thucydides and Tacitus" (p. 44).

"Humanism in Education" (1914) was written in happy ignorance both of the pragmatists' use of the word and of the chimera that now bombinates in the vacuum of American culture under the denomination of the new humanism. Professor Burnet uses the word in its normal, traditional, and only critical sense as designating what the humanists loved and tried to do, and he defends them against the charge of a narrow and dilettante preoccupation with the mere niceties of Latin prose. The recovery of a sound Latinity was the necessary precondition of other things at which they aimed:

"You can make yourself feel indignant by frowning," he says in seeming innocence of the James-Lange theory of the emotions, "and in the same way you may best learn to think like the ancients by trying to speak and write like the ancients." But though the humanists did well to begin with Latin they felt that Latin pointed everywhere to something beyond itself—to the science of the Greeks. It was the recovery of Greek science that largely gave the inspiration that created modern science, and Professor Burnet interestingly describes many things in Greek science that might well be used to enrich our classical teaching and enlarge its scope. In this connection the reader will turn to the suggestive little paper on "Experiment and Observation in Greek Science," which emphasizes the sound geological notions in Plato's *Critias* and traces them back through an elder Critias to Empedocles.

"Language and Literature Studies at St. Andrews, 1411-1911," supplements "Humanism in Education" with special local illustrations. It concludes with the pardonable boast, "In particular, there is no doubt that Plato has come to his own at St. Andrews in a way that would do Andrew Melville good to behold if he could witness it."

"Kultur," reprinted from *Higher Education and the War* (1917), bears some marks of what it is now the fashion to call "war psychology." "I for one would not choose to know as much Greek as Wilamowitz or as much chemistry as Ostwald at the price of having my mind work like that" (p. 178); and again, "I think it is only right to state my opinion for what it is worth, that there is enough Wissenschaft in Oxford and Cambridge to set up three or four German universities" (p. 189).

A few words will suffice for the essays which I have classed as miscellaneous. "The Religious and Moral Ideals of Euripides" (1908) develops at perhaps unnecessary length the commonplace that a dramatist is not personally responsible for all the dramatic utterances of his personages, and that Euripides need not have been a liar because he wrote "'Twas but my tongue, 'twas not my soul that swore." Burnet rejects Verrall's speculations and argues (p. 52) that Euripides "might have undermined the Olympian religion as much as he pleased, and he might have done it quite openly." On page 59 he adopts what I take to be a common misinterpretation of the opening lines of the *Heracleidae*, "that the righteous man is there for his fellows, and not for himself," etc. Havet, *Le christianisme et ses origines*, finds in this passage a Christian definition of the righteous man. Burnet thinks it an anticipation of the Thrasymachus of the first book of the *Republic*. But surely in the line $\delta \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\varsigma \pi\acute{\epsilon}\phi\upsilon\kappa'$ *ἀνὴρ* the words $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ are felt with *δίκαιος* rather than with *πέφυκ'*, and the line is a colorless description of the righteous man. The slight touch of cynicism is not suggested till line 5, $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega \delta' \acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$.

"Who was Javan?" enters into regions of speculation which I leave to the reviewer of Professor Myres' *Who Were the Greeks?* if I can find him. Burnet finds that Javan is Ion after all, that the Minoans spoke Greek and colonized

the coast of Asia Minor when the Dorians drove them from Crete: "For the present I like to think of them as the men of Javan, and as the direct ancestors of the Ionians" (p. 101). I have no objection to anybody thinking anything he pleases about the Minoans if his speculations don't distract my students from their main business.

The little essay on Shakespeare and Greek philosophy (1916) traces back to its Platonic and Pythagorean sources the passage about the music of the spheres in the fifth act of *The Merchant of Venice*.

"Law and Nature in Greek Ethics" repeats the affirmation that φύσις in the *Presocratics* means primary substance,¹ and discovers fanciful analogies between this and the sophistic opposition of nature and convention.²

The Romanes lecture on "Ignorance" develops the unpopular but salutary truth that in spite of, perhaps because of, the vast extension of our potential knowledge hived in libraries, the actual or actualized knowledge of the modern student is often less than that assimilated by very different methods of education in less enlightened ages. He doubts if specialization is an entirely satisfactory remedy. At a congress of pre-historic archaeologists at Geneva "we were chiefly concerned with the palaeolithic age, though communications about the neolithic were listened to with frigid politeness. When however an unfortunate gentleman tried to say something about the bronze age, it was impossible to hear him for the slamming of doors and the heavy tread of archaeologists leaving the room." "I am certain," he avers, "that the young men of today are absolutely and relatively more ignorant than those of forty years ago."

"How Platonism came to England" is a brief readable outline of a possible chapter in the history of Platonism.

I have used up my space and must after all renounce my original intention of criticizing the paper on the Socratic doctrine of the soul, the chapter on Greek philosophy reprinted from *The Legacy of Greece*, and the British Academy Lecture on Aristotle. I do not believe that Burnet has proved that nobody before Socrates used ψυχή in a moral and spiritual sense. I think Professor Burnet's later interpretation of Greek philosophy exaggerated the influence of Pythagoras and completely misapprehended the relation of Plato and Socrates. I think the lecture on Aristotle a useful and readable summary, but I do not believe that Burnet or other English critics who express themselves in terms of almost unqualified approval of Professor Jaeger's *Aristoteles* have read the book critically. But the detail of my reasons would be buried and lost in a review.

PAUL SHOREY

¹ Cf. per contra the Chicago dissertation of Beardsley.

² Cf. my review of Benn, *N.Y. Nation*, LXIX (1899), 56-57.

L. Annaei Senecae—Dialogorum Lib. VI: Ad Marciam de Consolatione. By CHARLES FAVEZ. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1928. Pp. lxxi + 104.

Professor Favez, whose edition of the *Consolatio ad Helviam* appeared in 1918, has maintained his high standard as a critic of Senecan prose, while dealing with more difficult material. The *Marcia* has always seemed to this reviewer a less distinctive and outstanding piece of work than the *Helvia*: it may be more perfunctory than an essay addressed to the author's own mother, as was the *Helvia*; and it may have been written in greater haste, at a time when Seneca's affairs were in confusion, before the exile to Corsica in 41 A.D.

We cannot resist the temptation to surmise that it was work of this sort which had provoked Caligula's "sand without lime" accusation against Seneca's speeches and writings—before he had mastered the diatribe and acquired the style and "point" which characterize the *Epistles* and certain passages in the moral essays. The editor's conclusion (pp. xi–xiv) that the date of publication was previous to Seneca's exile and subsequent to the death of Caligula (Jan. 24, 41 A.D.) is backed by cumulative and intelligent arguments which harmonize with all the reasonable evidence of past scholarship—among other opinions that of E. Albertini (*La composition dans les ouvrages philosophiques de Sénèque*, pp. 14f.). A. Bourguery's *Sénèque prosateur* (Paris, 1922), excellent in many ways, surely goes astray on this point.

The bibliography of Professor Favez is quite continentally (or incontinently) European. Out of five pages—which include a surprisingly large output of Seneca studies during the past ten years—the reader is surprised to find only one book written in English: Francis Holland's *Seneca* (London, 1920). W. C. Summers, J. D. Duff, and Allan P. Ball have touched in their introductions to other works than the *Marcia* (Duff's *Ad Polybium* is a *consolatio*) upon many points which the present dialogue involves. Five references are to Italian studies, all during the last ten years and indicating great activity among Cisalpine scholars. The *Consolatio ad Marciam* has not been edited much in the past as a special work; but within the last seven years four editions have appeared—two of this dialogue alone, and two collections of the consolations of Seneca.

The French temperament is especially happy in dealing with Seneca; Montaigne drew upon him as one of his two main sources of inspiration and "filled his mind" from Seneca's well. And Montesquieu, to quote only one more instance, in his *Lettres Persanes*, tells us that Seneca in the third decade of the eighteenth century had permeated French thought to a remarkable degree. This very type of diatribe—the consolation—suited temperaments which, for all their emotions, endeavored to adopt reason as guide of life and conqueror of grief. We look forward to the possibility of some studies by a psychologist trained in the classics who could approach this subject in a scientific way and give us a comprehensive view of psychiatry in Athens and

Rome. Professor Favez defines Seneca (pp. xxi f. and lxiv) as an expert psychologist, and also instances the opening chapter of the *De tranquillitate animi* as a penetrating analysis of neurasthenia.

Professor Favez is open-minded regarding the faults of the *Marcia*. He calls attention (p. 1) to the lack of connection between chapters xvii-xviii and the rest of the dialogue; to Seneca's inconsistency in defining death (xix. 5) as one of the *ἀδιάφορα* and then in the next chapter calling it a *bonum*; and to the loose arrangement of many parts, e.g., chapters xii-xvi which contain the *solacia* which Seneca announces in chapter xix as about to follow. He very correctly ascribes this and other such faults of loose construction to the "prédominance de la sensibilité sur la raison" rather than to any purposeful search for variety. So it is also with the introduction of "descriptions"—as the irrelevant trip from Syracuse (chap. xvii) and the possible perils by land and sea as a sample of life's problems. This seems to be a totally irrelevant "purple patch."

We should prefer *exsiccem* to *exiccem* (p. 15), *coniunx* to *coniux* (p. 28), and *exsolutio* to *exolutio* (p. 71). It is to be regretted that the text is not always so arranged that the footnotes are kept from overflowing to the next page. The text is at times very puzzling—as in xxiii. 5; but the interpretation of M. Favez is sound and sensible. The choice (p. 17) of *uberrimam* ("indulgent"), the reading of A, instead of *liberrimam* (Erasmus *et al.*), is questionable. There is no need for changing (p. 24) the *homines magis indoctos*, etc., of A to *magis homines indoctos*. And we believe that the *morborum repetita* of Gertz (p. 33) is superior to any other attempt to straighten out the passage. *Voce* (p. 33) is an improvement on the *vox* of Erasmus; *despondente* (p. 72) is excellent; and *gentium* (p. 102) is a justifiable attempt to remedy a possible lacuna. Professor Favez has therefore taken much more vigorous action with the text of the *Marcia* than with that of the *Helvia* ten years previously; the latter deviated very slightly from Gertz.

The notes are clear and helpful. For example, the possible contradiction (p. 11) of the Donatus story of Octavia's rewarding Vergil for his lines on the young Marcellus, with Seneca's statement that Octavia *aures suas adversus omne solacium clausit*, is cleared up by the words "ou le recit de Donat repose sur une légende, ou Sénèque a en vue des poèmes composés spécialement en l'honneur de Marcellus et dont les auteurs pensaient s'attirer ainsi les bonnes grâces d'Octavie." They are discriminating; as the interpretation of *fortuitae potentiae* (p. 103) as equivalent to *fortuna potentiae* and the defining of Fortuna as Destiny. They are also full and thorough, as in that on *vaccarum* (p. 22) and the good or bad taste of such passages in a *consolatio* to a Roman lady.

In conclusion, the *Ad Marciam de consolatione*, which is uneven in its style and sometimes jerky in its content, which contains such bad puns as *mortem filii tam magno animo tulit quam ipse leges tulerat* and such jargon as xviii. 5 (so much better done in Seneca's *Ninetieth Epistle* 42-43), in contrast with the

impressively stated tragic dramas of misfortune (chap. ix), and the brief sketch of Cordus, Marcia's heroic father (xxii. 4)—this essay is now fully available to scholars, students, and readers, and its significance clearly defined as an early milestone in the literary career of the Empire's most brilliant essayist.

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The Technical Arts and Sciences of the Ancients. By ALBERT NEUBURGER. Translated by HENRY L. BROSE. New York: Macmillan, 1930. Pp. xxxii + 518. 676 illus. \$10.00.

This is a translation of *Die Technik des Altertums* which went through three editions between 1919 and 1922. It is a book that should have a place on every reference shelf. It answers the thousand and one questions that one continually asks himself about ancient technical practices. Of course one can find fuller answers to some of them in such encyclopedias as Daremberg and Saglio and in special treatises, but here we have nearly everything in one generously illustrated volume.

The author tells us that it is entirely erroneous to imagine that the development of the technical sciences is a purely modern phenomenon and points out that in many lines the ancients achieved an extraordinarily high degree of perfection. He tells us too that the ancient technical expert enjoyed the greatest respect.

The book deals with all ancient countries but especially with Egypt, Greece, and Rome. It covers such subjects as mining, metallurgy, metal-working (including coins), working in wood and leather, agriculture, baking, brewing, wine-making, preserving, ceramics, glass, spinning and weaving, dyes, painting, machines (lever, pulley, etc.), lighting and heating, town-planning, fortifications, streets, houses, public buildings (theaters, baths, etc.), building methods and materials, water supply and drainage, roads and bridges, ships and navigation. We learn of the terrible conditions in ancient mines, of the sources of metals and the methods used in extracting them, we are told that *aurichalcum* is brass, that the Romans used methods of preventing the rusting of iron, that Roman window panes one foot by two feet have been found and that still larger ones were used, that purple dye cost about \$10,000 a pound in antiquity and could be produced synthetically a few years ago for \$5.00 a pound, that it was "of a dull shade, inclined to be reddish and tending towards violet" and that "it would give little pleasure to our eyes," that the metal lock was not really developed until the Roman period and that it evolved from the wooden lock, that the Romans had padlocks, that the Greeks first recognized the value of a good water supply, that Roman plank roads have been found in Germany, that vinegar could not have been used effectively by Hannibal in the Alps and that Livy's famous

passage is still unexplained, that "great credit is due to the technical genius of Caesar and his builders for successfully constructing this bridge in the strongly flowing Rhine," that there must be some truth in the stories about unbreakable glass.

The translator has omitted the list of references given at the end of each section in the German edition because most of these are to German books and periodicals. This is unfortunate, especially since the text bristles with the names of authorities. The Index of Authorities Mentioned in the Text is thus rendered quite useless. The translator has added a number of footnotes in which he corrects errors and overstatements of the author. Unfortunately he has taken little account of recent literature. One of his corrections is questionable. The author states that Galen is the first to mention the use of soap for washing as distinguished from its use for medical purposes. The translator refers to Theocritus xv. 30 as showing a much earlier date for the use of soap in washing. But it may be questioned whether the word *σμπάρα* which Theocritus uses really means soap, though it is often so translated.

B. L. ULLMAN

The "Historia regum Britanniae" of Geoffrey of Monmouth. With contributions to the study of its place in early British history by ACTON GRISCOM; together with a literal translation of the Welsh MS No. LXI of Jesus College, Oxford, by ROBERT ELLIS JONES. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929. Pp. xii+672.

It is a curious fact that during nearly three generations of intensive investigation in the history of Arthurian romance the scholarly world should not have produced a text of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* to supersede the one prepared in 1854 by San Marte. We have had excellent critical editions of Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmesbury, and a dozen other twelfth-century chroniclers, but for the work of Geoffrey we have had to depend principally upon San Marte's text, which was a reproduction of Giles's text prepared ten years before, which in turn constituted but little improvement upon that of Jerome Commelin, published in 1587. We have not even the excuse of ignorance. We have known for over sixty years—since the publication of Hardy's *Catalogue*—that there were at least 173 manuscripts, and yet we have been content to quote Geoffrey from texts whose editors were acquainted with a bare half-dozen.

Griscom's survey of the manuscripts is a valuable contribution to the study of Geoffrey. In Appendix I of his book there is a list of the Geoffrey manuscripts according to country, accompanied in many cases by revised dates. There is also a list of manuscripts whose present location is unknown; a list of manuscripts erroneously described as copies of the *Historia* in Hardy's *Catalogue*; a list of duplications in Hardy's *Catalogue*; and a list of libraries

that have Geoffrey manuscripts. We may get some idea of the labor that would be required in the production of a definitive edition from the fact that there are forty-eight manuscripts assigned to the twelfth century alone. Griscom's text is not offered as definitive. It is based on Cambridge 1706 (old II, i, 4), with variant readings from Bern 568 and a manuscript belonging to Lord Harlech (formerly Porkington 17). The Cambridge and Bern manuscripts represent the earlier form of the text. The readings from the thirteenth-century Harlech manuscript are included in order to give the reader some conception of the progressive tendency away from the Welsh forms of the proper names, Griscom's theory being that Geoffrey worked from some kind of Celtic source, and that the manuscript tradition gradually altered the Celtic names to bring them into accord with the more familiar Latin system. The editor has used test photographs of twelve other manuscripts in the examination of specific passages, but has not collated them for this edition. Although Griscom's text represents no more manuscripts than previous editions, it constitutes a great improvement over its predecessors because the editor has been able to avail himself of three generations' improvements in editorial procedure. We should count ourselves fortunate, therefore, to have a careful transcript of one good manuscript, even though the definitive edition for which we have been waiting so long is still lacking.

The text itself is well printed and legible. As to Griscom's manner of reproducing the text, it is possible that some readers may object to the retention of the capitalization, punctuation, and, in some cases, the abbreviations of the manuscript on the score that a "diplomatic" text is not particularly instructive to the student, and that it affords the editor himself no refuge from the two greatest dangers that beset his path, namely, the actual reading of the letters and the expansion of contractions. It bears the additional disadvantage, moreover, of being rather difficult to read. On the whole, however, as is abundantly demonstrated by a comparison of this text with that of San Marte, scholars who wish to consult Geoffrey are far better off than they were before.

The text is preceded by 216 pages of introductory material. Chapter iv is devoted to a demonstration of the fact that Geoffrey did not divide his work into books. A general knowledge of this fact may induce scholars to abandon the irritating habit of citing Geoffrey by book (without indication of edition) instead of by page reference to a particular edition. Chapter vi is especially important, for it gives a full treatment of the historical background of the various dedications of the *Historia* and establishes the fact that there were at least three recensions of the work, the first of which was done in 1136.¹

The rest of the Introduction is taken up with a discussion of the most difficult question of the real debt of Geoffrey to the *vetustissimus liber* which he asserts that he was translating. Griscom, although willing to agree that Geoffrey drew largely upon Gildas, Bede, and Nennius, and even upon Livy

¹ Edmond Faral (*La légende arthurienne* [Paris: Bibl. de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, 1929], III, 64) suggests a fourth.

and Vergil, insists that he must have had native sources for some of his material. His reason for maintaining this position are (a) that certain statements in Geoffrey's *Historia* seem to be substantiated by recent archaeological discoveries, and (b) that the Welsh chronicles or *Bruts* appear to be more than mere translations of Geoffrey; that, in other words, Geoffrey may have had before him, among other documents, the Welsh chronicle upon which the extant *Brut* manuscripts are ultimately based. The first argument, though striking, leaves the reader with a feeling of insecurity. The science (or the art) of archaeology has in recent years rendered great services to the study of literary history, and it has also led many competent scholars into indiscretions. On the whole, one feels that archaeological facts, in order to be of fundamental value to literary historians, must stand in close and unmistakable relation to the literary documents under consideration. The archaeological facts mentioned by Griscom give the impression of being as yet too remote from Geoffrey's text to be of use in establishing his use of native material.

The second argument opens up one of the most perplexing questions of early British history, namely, the status of the Welsh *Bruts*—chronicles setting forth a narrative parallel to that of Geoffrey—which have long been regarded by some scholars as representing the *vetustissimus liber*, and by others as mere translations of Geoffrey's Latin. Griscom scores heavily against the supporters of the translation theory when he points out the fact that their arguments are based on a German translation of an English translation made in 1811, and that this English translation, moreover, was based on a printed text of one version of the *Brut Tysilio*, and was deliberately brought into conformity with Geoffrey by the translator. These facts are sufficient to justify him in reopening the whole question of the priority of the *Bruts*. The various versions of the *Brut* have never been brought together and carefully studied in a consistent attempt to set up a definitive text, and until we have something at least approaching such a text the question of the priority of the *Bruts* can hardly be settled. Griscom has done much valuable work in clearing the ground for this task, and has, in addition, printed, a translation of one of the *Bruts* prepared by Canon Jones with the assistance of Professor Parry.

CLARK SLOVER

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

Platon: Verteidigungsrede des Sokrates—Kriton. Erklärt von CRON-
UHLE, dreizehnte Auflage, neubearbeitet von DR. ERDMANN
STRUCK. Teubner: Leipzig, 1929.

The Introduction to this well-known and useful book has been entirely rewritten and the notes have been brought down to date, especially on the side of history and antiquity. It is intended primarily for teachers, though many of the notes on points of syntax and usage are admirably adapted to German students and could be used with profit by American students if they read German and did not have access to Burnet, Adam, Dyer, Flagge, Kitchell,

Riddell, and others. It is, in short, an excellent book which every American teacher of the subject should add to his apparatus.

But I must confine this notice of a thirteenth edition to a few points that interest me. The Introduction, among other things, brings the Socrates question down to date with references to Maier, Ivo Bruns, Horneffer, Wilamowitz, Diès, Eckert, Geffcken, Kafka, Pöhlmann, von Arnim, and I know not how many others. My own view is simply that we cannot know much about a man who wrote nothing and lived twenty-five hundred years ago. Socrates was certainly a daemonic personality, but how much of Plato's idealization of him has a historical basis will always be a matter of opinion. Xenophon's inferior literary merit does not make him a better authority. He obviously borrows from Plato, and as obviously attributes his own ideas to Socrates when it suits him to do so. There is little more to be said, but infinitely more will continue to be said, and scholars can always pad books about Socrates by quoting one another's opinions.

The editor has placed the critical apparatus under the text and added a list of the deviations from Burnet. This is well, and I would not be understood as disparaging an indispensable branch of philology. Nevertheless, it needs to be repeated that for the majority of students as well as readers the practical sanity of the resultant text is what matters, and that, in the case of Plato, depends far more on the editor's judgment than on the industry manifested in his critical apparatus.

The correct text and interpretation of *Apology* 27 E-28 A has been given repeatedly at intervals by German and English scholars, and recently with further reasons by myself.¹ Yet this edition gets it wrong again. He retains the οὐ before the second τοῦ αὐτοῦ, and his footnote gives the impression that no other reading has any manuscript support. That, if I can trust Schanz, Bekker, Hermann, and Adam, is not the fact. I presume the editor was misled by the two editions of Burnet.²

There are only one or two other passages where I would take serious exception to the interpretations proposed. In *Crito* 50 A, καὶ ἐμμένονεν οἷς ὁμολογήσαμεν δίκαιους οὖσιν ἢ μή, he repeats the error which I corrected in *Classical Journal*, II, 80. He understands δίκαιους οὖσιν as attracted from δίκαια εἶναι. That is not the meaning. The entire context shows Socrates' meaning to be not "the things that we admitted to be just" but "the compact which we made, which is a just one." Socrates is not referring here, as elsewhere in the *Crito*, to former philosophical discussions but to the virtual social contract between himself and the state of Athens. The question is, Will he abide by it? I subjoin a list of interpretations, some of which seem to give my rendering, some the erroneous interpretation, while some evade the point.

БОЕСКИ [1829]: und bin ich nicht verbunden einen einmal eingegangenen Vertrag falls er anders Gerech war zu halten?

STALLBAUM: de quibus ut iustus et aequus nobis cum civitate convenit.

AST: manemusque ita in eo quod pactum est iusta ratione necne?

¹ Cf. *Supra*, XXIII, 68-70, and XXI, 287.

² Cf. *Class. Phil.*, XXIII, 69.

BEKKER: et utrum in his permanebimus quae iusta esse convenimus, vel contra.

THE LOEB TRANSLATION: And whether we are abiding by what we agreed was right or not.

THE BUDÉ: et observons nous ce dont nous sommes convenus oui ou non?

MÜLLER: bleiben wir unsern Zugeständnissen über das was recht ist getreu oder nicht?

ADAM: *ἡκαίτοι οἷον* is attracted to *οἷς*.

W. W. GOODWIN: And are we thus abiding by what we acknowledged to be right or not?

JOWETT: Do I not desert the principles which were acknowledged by us to be just?

CHURCH: Shall I be abiding by my just agreements or not?

PAUL SHOREY

Sexti Properti quae supersunt opera. Edidit OLIFFE LEGH RICHMOND. Cambridge: University Press, 1928.

The size of this book, the excellence of printing and paper, the length of the Introduction (87 pages), the acknowledgment of indebtedness to distinguished scholars, the fulness of the critical apparatus, all give the impression that the edition is one of the utmost importance. An unpretentious book can be dismissed in a word or ignored by those who are not convinced of its value, but a pretentious book must, in fairness to the reader, receive some attention even if it appears to lack significance.

Richmond has done a prodigious amount of work on the manuscripts of Propertius during the last quarter-century and more. Between 1903 and 1906 he collated every manuscript known to him in Western Europe. First fruits of this work were an article in the *Journal of Philology*. The main thesis of that article was that a certain group of fifteenth-century manuscripts represented a tradition independent of N A F. This view was criticized by me in *Classical Philology*, VI (1911), 300. So far as I know his view has not been accepted by anyone. In the present edition Richmond admits that the details of that discussion have for the most part been condemned by his more mature judgment. He withdraws his suggestion that the use of *finil* for *explicit* proves Irish origin. This was attacked by me in the article mentioned and has more recently been independently criticized by Lindsay (*Palaeographia Latina*, II, 5, n. 1). Richmond now quotes James's suggestion (tentative, to be sure) that the archetype may have been written in Beneventan script. This is merely misapplied palaeography. The new palaeography is a sharp tool which must be used carefully by skilled hands.

How Richmond came to the conclusion that his C group of manuscripts is of independent value is easy to see. He began his study of the manuscripts of Propertius at Cambridge. It is not surprising that one manuscript of Richmond's C group is there. Ever since Lachmann's time it has been a common event for a scholar to magnify the importance of some manuscript close at hand to which he has devoted long and patient study.

As to the other manuscripts, Richmond quotes fewer readings of N than his predecessors. His chief contribution is some new readings of F. But there is much to be done still with this manuscript, and I hope to carry out in the not-too-distant future my promise of twenty years' standing to furnish a new collation. Richmond says that "the common exemplar of A F *may* have been in Petrarch's possession" but cites no reasons for the suggestion. Nor does he give any reason for rejecting my documented argument that F was copied from Petrarch's manuscript and the latter from A.

Editors have always operated with lacunae and transpositions in the difficult text of Propertius. Richmond was led beyond his depth into these treacherous waters by certain transpositions peculiar to his favorite C group of manuscripts. He also took up an interesting suggestion of Phillimore's (worked out in his edition of Propertius in the Riccardi Press edition, reviewed by me in *Class. Phil.*, VII [1912], 391) that the poems may be divided into verse groups or stanzas. Richmond was not satisfied with Phillimore's scheme, which admitted of no lacunae or transpositions. Misapplying his palaeography, Richmond bravely went to work to restore the uncial (or rustic capital) archetype of all the manuscripts. The edition is in fact printed page for page in accordance with this putative archetype of sixteen lines to the page. I confess quite frankly that I have not tried to follow Richmond in all his agile leaps from one assumption to another, but the reader will forgive me, I am sure, when I give an example of the result from the traditional Book II, which begins on folio 25 of the supposed archetype. Richmond's poem I = traditional I. 1-38, lacuna of 6 lines, 39-46; II = 3; III = lost poem of 30 lines; IV = lacuna of 34 lines followed by 26. 29-58; V = 28. 1-34, lacuna of 16 lines, 8. 21-24, 28. 41-46; VI = 28. 35-40, lacuna of 36 lines; VII = lacuna of 12 lines, 28. 57-58, 47-56, 59-62; VIII = 19; IX = lost poem of 42 lines; X = lacuna of 22 lines, 18. 5-22; XI = 16. 1-28, 31-36, 29-30, 37-56; XII = 17. 1-2, 13-14, 3-12, 17-18; XIII = 18. 1-4, lacuna of 28 lines; XIV = lacuna of 4 lines, 24. 17-52; XV = 26. 1-10, 13-16, 11-12, 17-20; XVI = 26. 21-28, lacuna of 28 lines; XVII = lacuna of 4 lines, 29. 23-42; XVIII = 30. 1-12, lacuna of 20 lines; XIX = lacuna of 12 lines, 30. 13-18, 23-40, etc. Beyond this point lacunae of 39 full pages (624 lines) are indicated, not to mention a number of shorter lacunae. The total number of supposedly omitted verses is just over one thousand! It remains only to restore the missing verses and poems.

Attention may be called to one further point: Richmond's attribution of several other poems to Propertius. He accepts Némethy's attribution of the Panegyric of Messalla to Propertius and adds some insignificant arguments in favor of this view. He also assigns *Catalepton* ix to him on the basis of various similarities. It will be interesting to see whether Richmond and others will develop this idea and whether as it grows it will come in conflict with the Ovidianism which has been rampant in recent years.

B. L. ULLMAN

BREVIORA

[The managing editor establishes this subdepartment because of the difficulty of procuring substantial critical reviews of all books, and the impossibility if they were found of printing them in our limited space. It is believed that brief but fair *comptes rendus* will prove more useful than a mere biographical notice. Contributions to this department should never exceed a page, and a paragraph is preferable.]

The Youth of Virgil. By BRUNO NARDI. Translated by BELLE PALMER RAND with a Preface by EDWARD KENNARD RAND. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930.

The translation of Nardi's little book contains corrections and additions by the author and is thus preferable to the original Italian edition. Chapter i deals with Virgil's early life and is based largely on the ancient *vitae* as given by Brummer. In addition, Nardi paints in the political background of those years. Of the legends about Virgil's birth, Nardi thinks that there is truth in the one that a poplar tree was planted at the place of Virgil's birth, and that this legend gave rise to the one that Virgil was born in a ditch. I am glad to see that Nardi believes that Virgil assumed the *toga virilis* at the age of seventeen (not fifteen) in 53 B.C. I had arrived at the same conclusion in studying the question of the date of Lucretius' death, which occurred on the same day.

Chapters ii, iii, iv, except for a few pages on the juvenile poems (on which Nardi takes a cautious attitude), are devoted to the *Eclogues* and their political background. The treatment is a sensible one, avoiding the extremes of allegorical interpretation. Nardi's tendencies in interpretation are sufficiently illustrated by his identification of the child in the fourth *Eclogue* as Pollio's and his cautious suggestion that if there is an allegory in the fifth *Eclogue* it can apply only to Julius Caesar. Nardi also makes clear in broad outline not only Virgil's debt to Theocritus but also his independence of him, thus contributing to the appreciation of the *Eclogues*.

There are of course points on which to disagree and matters that are incorrect. Thus it is wrong to imply (p. 106) that Horace was a member of the circle of Maecenas before Virgil; in fact, Horace says just the opposite (*Serm.* i. 6. 55). Incidentally, at this point an allusion to Horace's journey to Brundisium is footnoted with "*Saturnalia*, I, 5," an unfortunate expansion of the abbreviation *Sat.*

An Appendix contains an excellent defense of the traditional identification of Andes, the birthplace of Virgil, with Pietole, as against the assaults of Conway and Besutti.

B. L. ULLMAN

Das Ethos der Mesotes. Von HARALD SCHILLING. Heidelberger Abhandlungen zur Philosophie und ihrer Geschichte." Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1930.

I cannot undertake to write a critical review that would do justice to this book. I can only announce it and state my impressions. The author's main

point seems to be that the doctrine of the ethical mean needs reinterpretation with more emphasis on Aristotle's statement that though virtue is logically a *μεσότης* it is morally or from the standpoint of value an *ἀκρότης*. If I understand him he wishes to protect Aristotle against all such misconceptions as that in the witty lecture on "Virtue as a Meanness" in Mallock's *New Republic*. Aristotle had something much profounder in mind than Horace's *aurea mediocritas* which is quoted on the first page in a translation that makes *noch während* a cyclic dactyl! The author confirms his interpretation by a restatement of Aristotle's analysis of the entire table of virtues.

There is no mention of any English work on the *Ethics* nor of Joseph Souilhé's *La notion platonicienne d'intermédiaire*.

The author accepts from Professor Jaeger's *Aristoteles* the idea that "das Ethos des Massen [as opposed to the Ethos der Mesotes] führt zu dem Ideal einer mathematisch-exakten Ethik, wie sie etwa der platonische *Philebus* entwickelt." I cannot discuss the matter here, but wish to go on record as affirming that this whole notion is fanciful, as I said in public lectures some years ago, and as is shown in detail in the unpublished dissertation of Miss Mary Needler on the *Eudemian Ethics*. Cf. *Abstracts of Theses, University of Chicago*, "Humanistic Series," V (1926-27), 389:

Part I discusses Professor Jaeger's arguments, and shows that the one which rests on the supposed presence in E.E. and not in E.N. of an ideal of exact method involves a misunderstanding of Plato's praise of accuracy and tone of intense conviction, and misinterpretations of Iamblichus and of fragments of Aristotle's early works (*Aristoteles*, pp. 86-92, 242 f.).

PAUL SHOREY

Aeneae Silvii de curialium miseriis epistola. Edited by WILFRID P.

MUSTARD. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928. Pp. 102. \$1.50.

This is the fifth volume of the "Studies in the Renaissance Pastoral," begun by Mustard so auspiciously in 1911 with his *Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*. One may wonder what a book in prose about the miseries of court life has to do with pastoral poetry. The explanation is that the first writer of English eclogues, Alexander Barclay, used Aeneas Silvius' book as his source. Some of his obscurities can only be understood by reference to Aeneas Silvius.

A brief Introduction deals with Aeneas Silvius and his work. Aeneas, who became Pope Pius II, was one of the leaders of Italian humanism and gave the movement a great deal of encouragement. His Latin works, both in prose and verse, occupy an important place in the history of the Latin literature of the Italian Renaissance.

Mustard's text of the treatise on the miseries of court life is based mainly on four editions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Wolkan's text (1909) was also used. There is no critical apparatus. As Mustard's edition

owes its inception to Barclay's use of the work as its source, it was natural for him to base it on the printed editions which Barclay must have used. But from a broader point of view an edition based on manuscripts would have been preferable.

The notes for the most part give Aeneas' ancient sources, but some give the necessary historical and linguistic explanations. The Appendices give excerpts from other works of Aeneas Silvius and from Barclay's *Eglogues*.

B. L. ULLMAN

La tradition manuscrite et les éditions des "Discours" de l'Empereur Julien. By J. BIDEZ. "Recueil de travaux publiés par la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres," Vol. LXI. University of Ghent, 1929.

The Budé translations, unlike the Loeb, are always supposed to include a critical recension of the text. Professor Bidez, who has done the *Letters* and is to do the *Discourses*, prepares himself for the task with a conscientiousness that puts to shame the present writer as a contributor to the "Loeb Series." Having no reviewer available who could check or profitably comment on his account of fifty-eight manuscripts dispersed through the libraries of Europe, I must limit myself to the bare announcement of the present work and the expression of the interest with which as a student, if not a text critic, of Julian I await his edition.¹

PAUL SHOREY

Index rerum et nominum in scholiis Servii et Aelii Donati tractatorum.

By J. F. MOUNTFORD and J. T. SCHULTZ. "Cornell Studies in Classical Philology," Vol. XXIII. New York: Longmans Green & Co., 1930. \$3.00.

This is a partial index of Servius' commentary on Virgil as found in Thilo's edition and of Donatus' commentary on Terence as published by Wessner. The combination of the two may seem strange but is justified by Mountford on the ground that Servius derived much material from Donatus' commentary on Virgil and that the investigation of Donatus material in Servius is facilitated by producing a combined index. Material is omitted which seemed unimportant for various reasons. Mountford had in mind chiefly those who wish to search for Donatus material in Servius and the glossaries, and to investigate the sources of Isidorus and other writers of late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. When there are many entries under one item, additional information is given so that one may readily see whether a given reference is of interest to him. Thus under *Iuno* we find (*et Adonis*) (*et equi*), etc.

Indexes such as these are extremely useful. May we have more of them!

B. L. ULLMAN

¹ Cf. *Class. Phil.*, VIII, 229 f. and 502 f.; X, 231 f.; XV, 401; XX, 161-62 and 163.

The Tradition of Virgil: Three Papers on the History and Influence of the Poet. By JUNIUS S. MORGAN, KENNETH MCKENZIE, CHARLES G. OSGOOD. Princeton: University Press, 1930. \$2.00.

The three papers were read at a Virgil celebration held at Princeton in 1929. The first, on the history of the text of Virgil, deals briefly with the chief manuscripts and the early printed editions, in which the Princeton library is so rich as a result of Mr. Morgan's generosity. The article is illustrated by eight halftone plates. The second paper, on Virgil and Dante, shows that in the *Divine Comedy* Virgil represents reason. Dante chose Virgil for this important function because, a poet himself, Dante preferred a poet, and Virgil was the greatest poet known to him, and because Virgil was "the glory of the Latin race" and set forth in the *Aeneid* the patriotic ideas which meant so much to Dante. The third paper, on Virgil and the English mind, presents charmingly, if briefly, the influence of Virgil on English poetry, especially Milton.

B. L. ULLMAN

Hieronymi Fracastorii de contagione. Translation and notes by WILMER CAVE WRIGHT. "History of Medicine Series," No. II. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1930.

The Introduction of fifty-four pages is excellent and interesting. It gives the necessary background of information about Fracastoro and his friends, life in Verona and Northern Italy in the sixteenth century, etc. It is interesting to learn that a man known as a leading writer of Latin verse¹ was also one of the leading physicians of the time, wrote books of interest for the history of medicine, originated the word "syphilis," made "the first scientific statement of the true nature of contagion, of infection, of disease germs and the modes of transmission of infectious diseases," and wrote "the earliest chapter on the contagion of pulmonary phthisis." His best-known work is his poem on syphilis. This was widely acclaimed in his day. Bembo said that it put its author in the class of Virgil and Lucretius, and Scaliger called him the best poet after Virgil, though he later revised his judgment somewhat. Mrs. Wright recognizes these tributes as the exaggeration of friends, but the large number of early editions of the poem indicates its popularity. Yet, as Mrs. Wright points out, Fracastoro's best scientific treatment of syphilis is in the prose work on contagion.

Text and translation are printed on opposite pages. The translation is the first complete one in English. It is smooth and natural and accurate, in so far as one may judge from occasional comparisons with the text. The numerous notes are very helpful for the technical terms. Mrs. Wright apparently, as far as a layman can judge, went to a great deal of trouble to achieve competence in this field. In fact, the entire work gives evidence of enthusiasm and intelligence.

B. L. ULLMAN

¹ He is given ten pages in Miss Gragg's *Latin Writings of the Italian Humanists*.

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